The World Tomorrow

JANUARY, 1932

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Setting the Pace for Japan

EARL CRANSTON

Are the Japanese Militaristic?

FRANK H. HEDGES

Canadian Farmer-Labor Politics

WILFRID EGGLESTON

The Noble Peace Prize
ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

We're All in the Breadline Now
CEDRIC LONG

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The late **Cedric Long** was secretary of the Coöperative League of the United States. His lamented death deprives this country of one of its most devoted and courageous public servants.

Wilfrid Eggleston is a member of the press gallery of the House of Commons at Ottawa.

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XV January, 1932 No. 1

Editorials

Taxes and Reparations

It is an interesting commentary on the favored position of America that, while other nations have been forced to apply heroic tax measures in order to balance budgets and prevent any further rise in the national debt, our Administration intends to increase taxes only sufficiently to reduce a cumulative deficit of four and a half to five billion dollars by the end of 1933 to two billion dollars. The two billion remaining are to be added to the national debt. And there are voices, like that of Professor Seligman of Columbia, who are asking that the tax increase be reduced and the bonds increased above two billion dollars. No other nation in the world could dare to increase its national debt by two billion dollars at such times as these and not run the risk of undermining confidence in its financial stability.

When we inquire into the method which Secretary Mellon proposes for the increase of taxes, we find that he is now as always particularly interested in giving the poor man a stake in his Government by increasing the number of income tax payers. Exemptions for unmarried men are to be reduced from $1500 to $1000, and for married men $3500 to $2500. The income tax on the rich will rise to 40 per cent, but only those who have $500,000 per year or over must pay such a tax. Men with an income of $100,000 and over will have to pay $22,000 instead of $15,000. That will leave all these gentlemen with fairly neat sums intact to keep the wolf from the door. The 149 men or women with an income of a million dollars or more will likewise pay 40 per cent, leaving them with over a half million to carry on.

It is, of course, futile to expect a Government so dominated by wealth to do better than this; but when the misery of the millions of unemployed is considered, there is something almost hideous in a society's willingness to permit certain men to enjoy incomes such as few in the world today outside of America receive. Twenty thousand people in this country have incomes of more than $50,000 and their combined income is $2,112,721,137. If those incomes were adequately dealt with, if, for instance, they were subjected to the British income tax, they would yield at least four times as much as all the money which has been collected in terms of charity for the unemployed.

Nothing brings the lack of decent moral sense in our present social system into more vivid relief than these Administration income tax proposals. Wealthy men who must pay forty per cent of their incomes to the Government will undoubtedly consider themselves such martyrs that they will have neither time nor energy to think very seriously about the plight of the millions who have no income at all. Such are the resources of the human imagination and the facts of human nature with which the realist who plans for a better society must work.

If wealthy men find it difficult to make sacrifices that really count in behalf of the poor of their country, it is inevitable that they should find it even more difficult to think of equalizing the burdens of the world. The President's proposal for a reorganization of the debt-funding commission is going to meet stiff opposition in Congress, according to all indications. However careful Mr. Hoover may have been in allaying the fears of those who are opposed to the cancellation of debts, there is a general uneasiness in Congress that this is really the intention of the Administration. The latter quite probably is convinced that a radical reduction, bordering on cancellation, ought to take place. But it is afraid to say so and has reason to be. The man in the street does not realize how close to disaster Europe really is. Nor can he see how favored he is in comparison with people across the Atlantic. All he knows is that taxes are rising and that they may rise still more if Europe does not pay us her debts. A wise political leadership might have prepared the American people for this necessary and inevitable step. But such leadership was lacking, and we now behold the whole structure of western civilization drifting toward disaster without having a sufficient degree of political intelligence among our people to guarantee right action.

If the peace organizations are wise, they will throw the whole force of their combined energies behind the debt cancellation cause. Nothing in all the world, not even disarmament, is quite so important for the peace of mankind as this problem.

French Hegemony

The situation in Germany continues to drift toward disaster. Since Hoover gave the French *carte blanche*, they have announced the policy that reparations must take precedence over commercial debts. We have no particular brief for the bankers who are in a fever over the possibility of Germany's defaulting her payments in February, but the French policy is certainly unrealistic since past and future reparations are possible only through commercial loans. The fact is that the French do not concern themselves with the economics of the situation at all. They wisely withdrew their loans from Germany when matters became serious, and they are using reparations pressure merely for political purposes, hoping no doubt that the economic power which they now hold may reduce an ancient foe to complete impotence. At present no available force seems powerful enough to stop their purposes. British diplomacy, after a decade of sentimental subservience to France, has been reduced to involuntary servitude by the power of French gold hoards. American bankers were checkmated all too easily by the threat of further withdrawal of gold from our coffers. Unfortunately, Grandi visited us after Laval. It would have been better had he come first. We are not quite so sentimental about Grandi's peace ideals as some of our esteemed contemporaries, but it is probably true that Grandi is more astute in his efforts to frustrate France's plans for hegemony than any other European diplomat. As it stands, the French have the Germans so completely under their thumb that nothing but revolution, either fascist or communist, offers a possible escape for Germany. Never have world diplomats been brought more completely under the dominance of one nation.

A Lesson From Germany

The new and stringent laws which Chancellor Bruening has enacted by presidential decree, reducing interest rates, fixing rents and determining price levels of commodities reveal to what length a state may go in its effort to avoid revolution. The whole development represents a kind of community fascism and is distinguished only to a slight degree from the types of fascism in which dominant economic groups use coercion in order to prevent significant social change. The difference between the two types of fascism is that the Bruening kind has the support of that portion of the labor movement which is afraid of revolution. In Germany this part of labor is represented by the Socialist party. Undoubtedly it will continue to lose strength to the communists if it continues its policy of giving either direct or indirect support to the Bruening dictatorship, operating behind a thin facade of parliamentarism. But it may maintain enough strength to give Bruening a considerable lease on power. Fear of Hitler's type of fascism is what actuates the German labor world in this policy.

Whatever the ultimate advantages or disadvantages of this kind of community fascism, it is instructive because it reveals a certain instinct of self-preservation in the total community which cuts across class lines. The Nationalist victory in England had something of the same quality in it. Many laborers, scared by the possibilities of an economic breakdown undoubtedly contributed to that victory. On the whole the English situation is more likely to be exploited by extreme reactionaries than is the German. There is a bare possibility that in Germany the fear of revolutionary chaos will drive the Bruening dictatorship to take such stringent measures against capital that some forms of social control will be established which will closely approximate socialism. Meanwhile, if economic pressure continues on Germany, it is probable that all these measures will not avail against a communist upheaval; for if a large mass of people actually face starvation they will not suffer any portion of the population to enjoy even moderated forms of inequality. But one wonders whether a nation has to be subjected to the kind of pressure which Germany suffers before the revolutionary method becomes a possibility and whether, even then, the inevitable is postponed by an adventure in community fascism. One wonders, too, whether all modern nations will not go through a similar development and whether in some, where the pressure of poverty is not so great, this instinct of self-preservation may not be strong enough to prevent a revolution. The romanticists who insist that revolution is the only way out of our present diffculties are hardly taking all the complexities of an industrial civilization into account. Revolutions seem to be easier for agrarian than for industrial national economies. Perhaps the fear of chaos in the latter will operate as a permanent barrier to revolution and force the industrial nations to seek other methods of abolishing individualistic capitalism and building a socialist society.

The British Tariff

Tariff is like opium: once you indulge in it you have to increase the dose constantly. Already the British tariff enthusiasts, who began with prohibitive duties upon manufactured articles, are clamoring for food taxes which, though designed to protect the farmers, are bound to result in lowered living standards for the workers, since Britain raises only a small portion of its food supply. The special advantages which the new tariff gives to the dominions, particularly Canada, are not likely to be reciprocal, and England therefore stands to lose in her trade with the colonies. In time imperial preferences will no doubt be established in order to achieve reciprocal advantages and give British goods the same privileges in dominion markets which dominion

products now enjoy in England. But when that happens an added strain will have been placed upon the already badly disjointed condition of world trade.

It is a sad commentary on the social intelligence of our day that England, the home of free trade, should succumb to the disease of tariff war at the precise moment when world conditions have reduced tariff dogma to an absurdity. But no logic can stop a hell-bent Tory majority which suddenly finds itself in possession of the power to do what it has so long yearned to do. However, we can not blame the British too much, for it is asking a great deal to expect them to remain sane in an insane world. Though they have revealed signs of political intelligence superior to that of other peoples, like the professors in war time, they could not preserve sanity in a hysterical world. Thus an interdependent world hastens its doom by each national unit instinctively grasping after nostrums which aggravate the total situation, and one more ailment is added to the already mortally diseased international economy.

Committees on Unemployment

With the number of unemployed in the United States rising above seven millions, according to an estimate in *The Business Week,* and with governmental committees and agencies opposed to official appropriations for unemployment relief, it is natural and desirable that there should spring up across the country various organized demands for a more adequate procedure for grappling with unemployment. *The Joint Committee on Unemployment* has upon its council representatives of seventeen national organizations, including the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, League for Industrial Democracy, Social Service Commission of the Central Conference of Rabbis, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. It recommends the securing of adequate relief funds by increased taxes in the higher brackets of the Federal income and inheritance taxes; an extensive construction program of highways, grain elevators, public works, schools, and homes for workers; national unemployment insurance; limitation of hours; and abolition of employment of persons under sixteen and over sixty-five, the latter to be provided for by adequate old age pensions.

A similar program is being advocated by the *Chicago Workers' Committee on Unemployment.* Delegations from this body have called upon the Mayor of the city and upon the Governor's Relief Committee, urging more vigorous endeavors in behalf of the unemployed. Numerous community meetings have been conducted in an effort to arouse the workers and to form local committees for relief and educational activities. *The Chicago Adult Education Council* is planning an elaborate series of forums, classes and recreational programs throughout the city for the unemployed, with the thought of quickening their interest in the economic situation and helping to sustain their morale during these tragic days of depression.

China Will Yet Win!

Japan has thus far emerged as victor in its contest with the League of Nations. The procedure adopted by the Council is favorable to Japan at the following points: Manchuria remains under the control of Japan, at least temporarily, and no date for evacuation has been set; the League's Commission of Inquiry is severely restricted in the scope of its activities; and a Japanese reservation maintains the right to take armed action against Chinese "bandits and irregulars." Just as the United States Marines never fight against Nicaraguan patriots but only against Nicaraguan "bandits," so the Japanese militarists classify all Chinese who are not pro-Japanese as "bandits and irregulars." Thus there is a sound basis for the cynical observation that the League has shown itself impotent and ineffective, whereas the Japanese military authorities have ridden roughshod over the Covenant of the League, the Pact of Paris, and the Washington treaties.

Yet we still maintain the conviction that Japan cannot win permanently. Three factors in combination constitute the foundation for this opinion. First, Chinese nationalism is deepening and spreading at a rapid pace. In sheer numbers the Chinese are invincible. In Manchuria they outnumber the Japanese more than a hundred to one. Every three months the Chinese population in that region has been increasing by an amount in excess of the total Japanese population in Manchuria. The Japanese farmer or merchant is ordinarily no match for the Chinese, man for man, unless assisted and subsidized by his government. The economic superiority of the Chinese has been demonstrated in all corners of the Far East where they meet the Japanese on terms of economic equality. Moreover, the Chinese are expert manipulators of the boycott, and not only in Manchuria but throughout the vast extent of China, they will wreck Japanese trade. Even if infuriated Chinese nationalism does not provoke a frenzied attack upon Japanese troops in Manchuria or upon Japanese nationals elsewhere in China, indignation and fury will strengthen and prolong the economic boycott. Just as ultimate victory lies with India in her struggle against Great Britain, so China's millions will eventually roll as a relentless tide over Japanese domination in Manchuria.

A second factor is found in the weapons which the League of Nations may yet use. Emphasis should be placed upon the fact that Japan has repeatedly asserted that she has no territorial designs upon Manchuria and that her sole concern is the protection of her rights of interests. The League has thus far been extremely patient with Japan, perhaps unduly and unwisely so, but it has never retreated from its position that the terri-

torial and administrative integrity of China must be respected and safeguarded. If the Japanese militarists continue to flout their international obligations, the League is not powerless. Three steps may be taken: acting under Article 15, a moral judgment against Japan may be expressed in legal form; a diplomatic boycott may be inaugurated; and, as a last resort, an embargo against raw silk and certain other Japanese commodities of export may be instituted. Japan is too vulnerable to be able to resist this combined pressure.

Another significant aspect of the situation is found in the rise within Japan of the spirit of internationalism and peace, as emphasized elsewhere in this issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW. While the rank and file of Japanese citizens are temporarily inflamed with patriotic passion against China, they cannot remain impervious to economic and moral influences. Increasingly they will feel the terrific burden placed upon their backs by Japanese militarism and the resultant Chinese boycott. They are an extremely sensitive people and are deeply hurt by moral condemnation.

Thus by an extraordinary paradox, the dice are loaded against Japan: the growth of nationalism and the spread of internationalism alike block the way to the annexation of Manchuria by Japan. The day has passed when the seizure of Korea can be repeated. Chinese nationalism and world internationalism will combine to prevent such an outrage.

Violence Used to Prevent Organization

A significant industrial struggle has been waged the past few months in New York City where the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees has been attempting to organize the workers of the Brooklyn Edison plant. Their efforts have taken the form of distributing a mimeographed organizing appeal every two weeks to the men as they stood in line to receive their pay. The company, which has had larger dividends in 1930 than in 1929, is desperately anxious to prevent organization and stoops to the use of all kinds of violence. The workers and their sympathizers are regularly beaten up by men who are alleged to be hired thugs, but who the company declares are its own employees incensed by the efforts to organize them.

Among those who have been beaten up are Dr. Cory, pastor of the Presbyterian church in Brooklyn, the Rev. Eliot White, Chester Williams, a young insurance broker who has suffered a permanent disability from being knocked down and trampled upon, and a number of students from Union Seminary and Columbia University who have been assisting the men. There is some evidence that the police connive at the brutalities of the company. At least they have given a minimum of protection to the organizers, and usually arrest the accuser with the accused when charges are brought against the thugs. Naturally the company is anxious not to allow a precedent of organization in public utility corporations. It is interesting to note how readily the classes which raise a hue and cry against threats of violence on the part of workers resort to violent tactics themselves when their interests are threatened.

That He Who Drives May Read!

Lucky Sheiks and Old Brass are confronted with a new competitor for public attention on the billboards of Topeka. Under the leadership of Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, world peace is being dramatized on posters, 10 by 25 feet in size, which are displayed along the highways near the city. Even at fifty miles per the motorist can read:

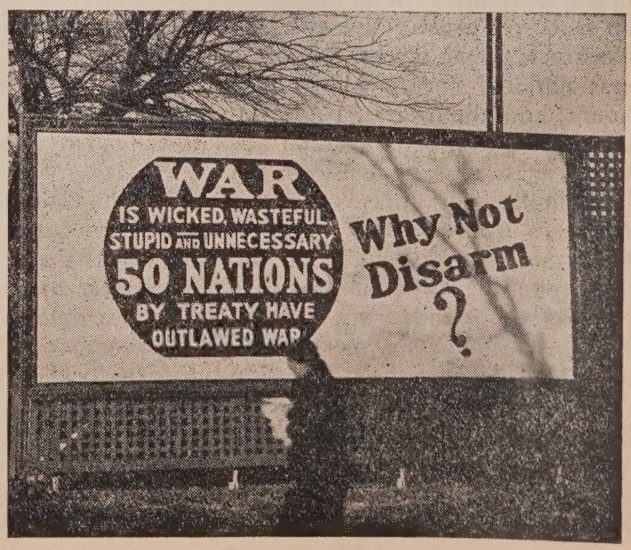
WAR IS WICKED, WASTEFUL, STUPID AND UNNECESSARY.

50 NATIONS BY TREATY HAVE OUTLAWED WAR.

WHY NOT DISARM?

We predict that the initiative of Topeka will lead the way to numerous campaigns across the nation to dramatize the revolt against war by widespread use of outdoor displays.

This news item furnishes us with a text for another appeal for the creation of a National Peace Department in the Federal Government, with a Secretary of Peace as a member of the Cabinet, and a budget of 100 million dollars annually, about one-seventh as much as the current operating expenses of the Army and Navy of this nation. The expenditure of even 10 millions annually, one-fourth the cost of a battleship, for the dramatization on billboards of the message of international friendship and coöperation would quickly produce an appreciable change in public opinion. If the Government can afford to placard the nation with appeals to see the world with the Marines, why not stimulate citizens to action in behalf of international peace?



Rather Than Man!

The refusal to subordinate conscience to government has long been a fundamental policy with religious people. "We must obey God rather than man" has been the response of many religions throughout many centuries. The enforcement of the will of the majority against the conscientious convictions of the individual constitutes tyranny. It is of course true that representative government is possible only because citizens are ordinarily willing to obey the law. But bills of rights have always been essential to the preservation of liberty against the tyranny of the majority. Government does not have the authority to pass any conceivable law upon any possible subject. Restrictions and limitations upon law-making bodies have always been necessary.

This whole question of legislative and judicial tyranny has become urgent because of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Macintosh case. It will be recalled that, by one of the famous 5 to 4 decisions, the Court ruled that Professor Macintosh could not be admitted to citizenship because he would not promise to bear arms in a possible war which he did not approve. While the decision of the Court is directly applicable only to aliens who are seeking admission to citizenship, the *implications* of the decision are of extreme significance to all citizens as well. This decision is contrary to the century-old policy of the Government of the United States in exempting genuine conscientious objectors from combatant service in war time. In all our wars Quakers, Mennonites, and similar religious bodies have always been exempted from active combatant service. Moreover, the State Department has followed the policy of granting passports to citizens who state that they interpret their obligation to uphold and defend the Constitution in non-military terms. In at least two cases the State Department is on record in writing as saying that it is not obligatory upon citizens desiring a passport to promise that they will give armed support to the Constitution. Even since the Macintosh decision the State Department has continued its former policy of granting passports to avowed pacifists. It cannot be said, therefore, that the recent decision has changed the status of citizens in their obligation to bear arms. Nevertheless, the implications of the Macintosh decision are so ominous that citizens who are conscientious objectors against war should immediately and continuously protest against this decision. All persons who are opposed to the method of war on conscientious grounds should forthwith declare their determination not to bear arms under any circumstances and should make known this conviction to the Government without delay.

The basis upon which the citizen may make his protest was well phrased by Chief Justice Hughes in his dissenting opinion, which was concurred in by Justices Brandeis, Holmes, and Stone:

> In the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would unquestionably be made by many of our conscientious and law-abiding citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation. . . . One cannot speak of religious liberty, with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God.

It is not without significance that the four justices who share in this dissenting opinion are by common consent the most brilliant members of the court. With such eminent support, the citizen is entirely warranted in taking a resolute stand that under no circumstances will he surrender his conscience to the Government.

Under the leadership of Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of *The Christian Century,* the religious press of the nation is simultaneously printing a "Declaration of an American Citizen," and a nation-wide effort is being made to secure thousands of signatures of American citizens. Elsewhere in this issue this declaration is printed, and we urge all conscientious objectors to war, and indeed all persons who are unwilling blindly to surrender their consciences to the Government, to sign one of these declarations and forward it to this journal or to some other participating periodical. Without delay multitudes of American citizens should emphatically repudiate the implications of the Supreme Court's decision. Again the challenge must ring out: "We must obey God rather than man."

We recognize the latent peril in urging citizens to denounce and oppose certain acts of the Government, but we maintain that the surrender of conscience to a majority of Congress or the Supreme Court constitutes an even more ominous menace to liberty. If a citizen is conscientiously opposed to the prohibition law, he would be justified in going to the public authorities and stating his reasons for being unable to obey the law and announcing his readiness to accept the penalties for this refusal. A vast gulf separates such an individual from the bootlegger or law-breaker, just as a genuine conscientious objector stands on utterly different ground from the slacker. The nation desperately needs men who follow deep conscientious convictions—even to jail!

In an effort to make it possible for aliens to become citizens in spite of conscientious convictions against war, the Hon. John W. Davis and his colleagues have prepared an amendment to the Naturalization Law:

> No alien otherwise qualified under this act shall be denied citizenship by reason of his refusal on conscientious grounds to promise to bear arms or otherwise participate in war; but every alien admitted to citizenship shall be subject to the same obligation in all respects as a native-born citizen.

This bill will be sponsored by Senator Cutting.

Are the Japanese Militaristic?

FRANK H. HEDGES

ONE of the "facts about Japan" accepted and believed by the world at large is that the Japanese are a militaristic people. More than ten years of intimate contact with Japanese in all walks of life—from prince to 'rikisha coolie, from political leader to day laborer, from high army officer to army conscript—compel me, however, to think otherwise. This contact has come about in the course of a decade of newspaper experience in Japan, supplemented by the desire to learn all I could about the people among whom I was living.

In my opinion there is scarcely a Japanese living who would not willingly and with a strong sense of pride risk his life in warfare if he thought his country demanded it. I am equally convinced that an overwhelming majority of the Japanese today are opposed to war except as a last resort, and that, when it becomes a personal problem, ninety-nine out of a hundred will choose the path of peace.

During the past half-dozen years I have questioned at least a hundred Japanese youths, nearing the age of twenty, as to whether or not they wished to go into the army or navy. Two of them answered, "Yes." All the others were emphatic in their denial, although they acknowledged themselves ready to serve in case there was no honorable way of avoiding it.

Japan of course has universal military service but the needs of the service are such that actually only one out of every seven eligible young men is called to the colors. With a standing force of less than 200,000 officers and men, it is not necessary to call every boy who reaches military age. Eliminations take place, first by physical examination, then by exemption of those necessary for family support or enrolled as students in some college or university, and finally by drawing lots, for there still remain more conscripts than the army needs. Only one out of every potential seven is required, and only one out of seven is taken.

Of these young Japanese whom I interviewed on the subject, but two expressed hope that they would be this seventh lad. The others hoped to be included in one way or another among "the lucky six." There is a ready explanation for the desire of the odd couple among the hundred. Both were boys born and reared in small villages some distance from the capital. Their home towns are coastal resorts, and both boys had served in hotels where they came into contact with Japanese and foreign visitors from Tokyo and other great cities. The tales told by these hotel guests had fired the imaginations of the young men and made them discontented with the humdrum life at home. The army to them spelled adventure, and it was this that made military service seem so attractive.

During the years I lived in Japan I knew but one Japanese youth who was eager to volunteer for the army as soon as he became old enough. This boy was born of Japanese parents in the United States and returned to Japan at the age of fifteen, unable to speak the language of the land, unacquainted with its customs, a foreigner in training but forced to live among the Japanese and in Japanese style. He was utterly discontented and believed that the army would afford a change which might be welcome. Incidentally, he was in the employ of a foreign military *attaché* whom he hero-worshipped, and an army career was accordingly glorified in his eyes. But as the years passed and he neared the age of twenty, he began to change his views. He did not volunteer, and he was not conscripted. Instead he got a job with the Ford plant at Yokohama.

I know an officer in the Imperial Japanese Navy of high rank who was attached for several years to the Ministry of the Navy in Tokyo. In his office he was obliged to wear uniform, but he told me that he changed it before returning home at night and did not put it on again until after his arrival at the office the next morning. To my natural question, "Why"? he replied: "Because I find in going through the streets that the sight of a uniform is unpopular."

The marriage brokers in Japan report that for some time past they have found it increasingly difficult to obtain wives for officers of the army and navy. The poor pay undoubtedly has something to do with this, but it was not so many years ago when wealthy parents sought an army officer as a son-in-law because of the consequent honor and possible career in fields other than the military which loomed before such a man.

THE change in dress, architecture, and manner of living in Japan during the last generation has been so striking and has received so much attention that the accompanying shift in psychology and mental outlook is often neglected. If we go back less than a century, we find Japanese society rigidly divided into four general classes in addition to two other groups—one above and the other below the first four. The Imperal Family and its attendant Court nobles were in a class by themselves. So were the outcasts—the "not-men" as they were known—the makers of footwear, the tanners and those who had to do with the burial of the dead. The

four recognized classes in the order of social importance were soldiers, farmers, artisans and merchants.

The soldier was so far above the other three classes of commoners that different laws governed his conduct, and at times in Japanese history he has been privileged to kill peaceful citizens very much at his own will. One of the most foundation-shaking reforms that came shortly after Japan's opening her doors to the Western World was the abolition of this hereditary class of fighting men and the inauguration of universal conscription. When the Great Saigo rebelled in 1877, the wisdom of the central government in abolishing this class was proved. The sons of the hereditary *samurai* were defeated in fair battle by the conscript army that the Emperor had but recently raised and trained. Shop boy and apprentice, farmer lad, and the son of the wealthy merchant stood their ground against those in whose veins ran the blood of ancient warriors, and they emerged victorious from the conflict.

The soldier was no longer a privileged being set apart from the masses. Yet the great respect he had always commanded in public opinion could not be abolished overnight by decree. It was but natural that the old veneration for the military calling should survive, and the soldier was still looked up to and honored by the populace at large. Moreover, at that time Japan's energy was concentrated on the creation of a great army and navy that would win the respect of the world and insure her national independence. Whether in politics or in some other sphere of public life, the road to greatness lay through military service. Virtually all of the statesmen who made modern Japan were soldiers or sailors. It was merely the temper of the times and the organization of the State.

With such an historical background and heritage, it is astonishing and significant that but two out of a hundred Japanese of the present generation wish to go into the armed service of their nation. They are not unpatriotic; it is merely that the idea of what constitutes patriotism in Japan is changing.

IN 1923 an attempt to introduce military training into Waseda University, long considered one of the breeding spots of liberalism in the Empire, brought forth student strikes of a serious nature. Japan at that time had a reactionary Minister of Education who was utterly out of spirit with his times. But since he was practically supreme in his sphere, the government could not, for party political reasons, dismiss him. He forbade the study of social science, the holding of amateur dramatics and other activities in the public schools. Among his drastic acts was the inauguration of compulsory military training for all students from twelve years upward through the higher schools. The boys rebelled and their parents protested, but the government was strong enough to enforce the measure.

Not content with this, the Minister began to reach out after boys who had left school at an early age. In coöperation with the Ministery of War, a plan was worked out which it was asserted would "be of great benefit for national defense and would give the education in citizenship made necessary by the (then recent) passing of the universal manhood suffrage act." Under this plan a young Japanese could volunteer for an eight-hundred-hour course in military and citizenship training covering a period of four years.

This plan went into effect in July, 1926, and the results are indicative of the reaction of present-day Japan. By November more than half of those who had volunteered had dropped out. The reasons given were varied, but all critics agree that the fundamental explanation was that too much time was devoted to military and not enough to citizenship and vocational training, and that the expected privilege of partial exemption from conscription was denied when it came to the test. The Minister of War had stated that all young men who voluntarily took this course would find their period of service with the colors materially reduced. That promise, which lured many, was not kept.

There is an insistent demand throughout Japan that the period of service, nominally two years but actually about twenty months, be shortened. There is also a demand that the size of the standing army be cut. The Ministry of the Navy has found it more and more difficult each year to secure the large appropriations desired, and has been forced to pare its budget in conformity with public opinion. There can be no doubt but that the military party will take full advantage of the present Manchurian crisis to strengthen its position with the people for, while the threat of war looms, the people of any nation are prone to become militaristic.

THE militarists have lost steadily in influence since the close of the Washington Conference. The late Baron Giichi Tanaka felt it necessary to resign his commission as a lieutenant general in the army in order to become president of a political party and eventually to ride into the premiership. Up to a couple of decades ago he would have found this commission an asset in politics; today it is an impediment of which the statesman must rid himself.

Each year as the time for examinations for conscription nears, scandal after scandal appears. Boys will be found to have mutilated themselves in some minor way in order that they will be exempted. Priests will accept money for prayers that this or that particular son may be exempted. The significance of such cases lies, of course, in the fact that they are indicative of the general attitude, but not of the general practice, toward serving in the army or navy. City boys return to their country homes for examination, hoping that the lads who have

remained on the farms will be in better physical condition than they and so will be accepted in their place.

These are the "militaristic Japanese." Whenever that phrase is used, there comes to my mind the picture of the ninety-eight boys who did not want to go into the army in contrast to the pair who did; the picture of the high navy officer changing from uniform into civilian clothes before stepping out on the street; the picture of my own office boy who is now with the army and who writes to me in his peculiar and broken English:

> I am serving in the army without any trouble, so please feel easy though this matter is not your case. The services and rules in the army are not so severe, but I feel how much more merry at your office now. At first I could not take my food because it was so different from one which I used had been taking, but now I am accustomed to take it and even feel delicious. About my bed, it was too narrow at first and could not get asleep at all, but now it is all right to me, taking a sound sleep owing to the daytime's toil.

That boy will come back when his twenty months' service is up. He will not re-enlist, and when he votes he will vote to reduce the army and the term of conscription. He is only one of the "militaristic Japanese" of the present generation, but his like is multiplied by millions.

Setting the Pace for Japan

EARL CRANSTON

JAPAN'S recent action in Manchuria has been based on the policy of force as a means of maintaining legal rights and interests. She has chosen this rather than the alternative policy of conciliation, one that would trust the welfare of her citizens to China, the country under which they live. Occidentals who regret Japan's course as one unsuited to the present day may well study their own past conduct in Asia to discover whether Japan is not primarily an effective, if tardy, imitator of lessons taught by Europeans and Americans.

In 1925, when Westerners seemed all too slow to appreciate or adjust themselves to the rising Chinese nationalist movement and allow the Chinese to dominate their own affairs, influential Americans sometimes questioned whether the Protestant Christian faith could have been established and maintained in China without reliance upon the force of foreign governments. When not long ago it was my privilege to spend a year in research, that problem prompted me to center my study upon China between 1830 and 1860, during which period Western nations used force to open China to foreign intercourse. I consulted not only American and British government documents, more or less familiar to students, but also checked and supplemented these with the less accessible writings of the early American missionaries to China, especially their manuscript letters, most of which have never been printed but lie in the files of mission boards or libraries. My study has convinced me that Protestanism, like earlier forms of Christianity, could have been introduced into China apart from foreign force, and that the present status of Christianity and also of foreign residence in the Orient would be markedly better had Occidentals consistently chosen the peaceful rather than the aggressive course.

A century ago Europeans and Americans had still to decide whether they should extend their influence in China by conciliation or by force. When the first American missionaries reached China, in 1830, the foreigners had permission to live only in Macao, a small Portuguese settlement, and in the suburbs of Canton, a neighboring Chinese city. The foreign group, mostly traders, lived under rules and customs set by the Chinese, and were on the whole contented and flourishing. The 1830's, however, were to mark the alteration of this condition and the adoption of the contrasted policy of foreign coercion. This change produced antagonisms and conflicts which have lasted to the present day.

In 1830 a group of influential men in the Canton agency of the British East India Company chafed under the Chinese regulations and violated these by extending a quay into forbidden regions, by riding in sedan-chairs, and by bringing to their Canton residences their wives, sailors, and guns, all of which were prohibited. When the Chinese manifested resentment, these English subjects asked their superiors in India and England to send warships to protect them. Governor Bentinck of India refused this request which he considered pregnant with consequences of extreme magnitude. He preferred the policy, thus far successfully pursued, of excluding ships of war and eliminating every possible chance of collision. The directors of the East India Company in London sustained Governor Bentinck, removed the Canton agents who had sought the aggressive policy, and placed themselves on record in a remarkable document of January 13, 1832, which the ensuing century might well have heeded.

> To attempt to maintain a purely commercial intercourse, such as that with China, by force of arms would, in a pecuniary point of view be anything rather than a matter of profit, even if justice and humanity could allow us for a moment seriously

to contemplate such a step. We cannot, in fairness, deny to China the right which our nation exercises as she sees fit, either by prohibiting, restraining, or subjecting to certain laws and regulations its commercial dealings with other countries. China must be considered free in the exercise of her affairs, without being accountable to any other nation.

Although individual foreigners did not always live up to the high ideals of these instructions, this official return to pacific association greatly relieved the tension in Canton. The newly-arrived American missionaries found a favorable reception for their pioneer efforts.

IN an attempt to widen the sphere of trade, the British government sent to China in 1834 Lord Napier, whose attempts to negotiate a treaty without regard to Oriental etiquette soon offended the Chinese. They resented his haste in coming from Macao to Canton before he had obtained formal permission, his insistence that he present his documents directly to the chief Chinese official in Canton rather than through prescribed channels, and his refusal to designate his request as a petition. The envoy's persistence caused the Chinese to stop all foreign trade. Napier then took an unprecedented step, apparently not warranted by his instructions, and ordered the British fleet to come to the waterfront of Canton instead of waiting at a lower anchorage. On its way up to Canton the navy fired upon Chinese forts and damaged temples and other adjacent property. The mandarins thereupon applied a full boycott to foreigners, withdrew their Chinese servants, and shut off their supply of provisions. Napier went back to Macao where he soon died of a malady brought on in part by the strain. He was buried by the chief American missionary, E. C. Bridgman, whose four years' work through school and printing press had been almost negated by the anti-foreign feeling occasioned by Napier's fruitless demands.

From that time onward, foreign opinion in China, convinced that the white man's prestige had been injured by this rebuff, inclined increasingly to the use of force to open China. Opium traders prepared the way by voyages in which they peddled their drug all along the Chinese coast, in violation of Chinese laws which prohibited the importation of opium and which limited foreign intercourse to Canton. A few adventurous missionaries, notably the Prussian-born Gützlaff who later became a British official, likewise broke the latter law by making unrestrained voyages for the distribution of tracts and selections from the Chinese translation of the Bible.

IN 1839 opium smuggling created a crisis which led the foreign group to a permanent adoption of the policy of force. Emperor Tao Kwang, sincerely anxious to stop the rapidly increasing importation of opium from Southern Asia, dispatched to Canton a most efficient prohibition officer, Commissioner Lin. To compel surrender of the stock which foreign merchants obviously had in their warehouses and ships, Lin surrounded the Canton factories or foreign settlement and refused to let individuals or supplies pass in or out until he obtained the opium. He then destroyed the entire twenty thousand chests. Foreign residents, including Captain Elliot, the British Superintendent of Trade, who had been among those confined by Lin, complained that foreign property had been confiscated and that foreign prestige was at stake. They prevailed upon Great Britain to send the naval reënforcements which had been refused eight years earlier. This reversal of policy resulted in the Opium War of 1839 to 1842, in which various parts of the Chinese coast suffered. While the American missionaries had unanimously regretted and condemned the conduct of the opium smugglers of their own race, and while they realized that these opium excesses had caused the war, with the beginning of hostilities they came to believe that the issue had shifted and had become that of the right of the foreigners to enjoy more complete access to China. A British triumph would allow all nationalities to reside more freely throughout the country; hence the American missionaries hoped and prayed for such a victory and felt that Providence in mysterious ways was thus opening the land to the gospel and to salvation.

In making that momentous choice the American missionaries deliberately frustrated the efforts of the Chinese to dissociate them, both as Americans and as Christian missionaries, from the British military system. Influential Chinese, including Commissioner Lin himself actively sought the advice and sympathy of Bridgman and his fellow-American Dr. Peter Parker, whose ophthalmic hospital had won wide favor in and about Canton, but the missionaries rejected the opportunity to take a moral stand, withdrew to Macao and the protection of British guns, and with the best of intentions chose to hitch their position and their cause to military expediency. In the light of later history, that decision seems tragic.

AMERICAN missionaries joined other foreigners in hailing as equal to or even better than their hopes the Treaty of Nanking by which, in 1842, Britain at the end of the Opium War received the island of Hongkong, the right of residence for British subjects in five cities of China proper, and an ample indemnity intended to cover the value of the opium which Commissioner Lin had confiscated. France and the United States, although they had not taken part in the Opium War, hastened to send envoys who, within the next two years, obtained for their respective countries the same general privileges as those which the British had won by force of arms. Neither power, however, received a definite cession of land, like that of Hongkong to Britain. Instead, Caleb Cushing, the American negotiator, secured

for the citizens of his country extra-territoriality, or the right of trial by officials of their own nation, a privilege which the Chinese of the present day are attempting to retract from the citizens of the United States and of a dozen other countries which still possess it. Only two or three missionaries mingled with their rejoicing a slight apprehension lest the Chinese, forced to yield valuable privileges, might become resentful at heart and offer obstacles and possible future war to the efforts of foreigners to enforce the terms of these treaties.

Without waiting for the United States to negotiate its treaty, American missionaries established themselves in the regions which the British had opened. Since their activities and associations in Canton had been virtually ruined by the war, the missionaries at first thronged to Hongkong, with the intention of making it a center for the Christianization of the mainland of China. Such of the Chinese as would consent to live in Hongkong, however, proved to be of a submissive, non-virile type, and the immoral example of foreign sailors who thronged the port, as well as that of certain officials and business men, so vitiated the teachings of the missionaries that the latter could accomplish little. They soon learned that the aegis of the British flag, however sure the physical protection it might afford, was in itself no asset for even the formal spreading of Christianity. Another chapter in the effort to accomplish good by force had proved a failure.

BY about 1844 most of the missionaries had transferred their activity from Hongkong to the five treaty ports opened on the mainland. Foreign conduct in those cities during the significant dozen years which ensued was of two variant types. In Canton, and after a short time in Shanghai as well, the foreigners were inclined to rely upon the letter of their treaty rights and upon the protection afforded by foreign military forces. On the other hand, in the minor ports less sought out for immediate economic exploitation, the policy of conciliation was used, chiefly by the missionaries, with signal success.

The first American missionaries to establish themselves in Amoy, in 1842, found that the British army of occupation was unable to converse with the population of the city, since no one of either nationality knew the two necessary languages. There had been frequent misunderstandings in which Chinese, including some whose homes were occupied by the foreign troops, had been shot as looters. The missionaries Abeel and Boone, who knew the Chinese tongue and were among the most sagacious of their calling, reconciled the diverse racial elements, and by their friendly approach to the Chinese soon obliterated many unpleasant memories of the war and won the favor of high and low.

Early missionary settlers in the ports of Ningpo and Foochow received scarcely less cordial treatment than those at Amoy. W. M. Lowrie declared in 1846 that he felt as safe by day or night in any part of Ningpo as in New York or Philadelphia. It is significant that from the practical angle this contact rested purely upon the good will of both sides. The foreigners involved accommodated themselves to Chinese ways and made no effort to have their government defend them. They met in those early years in these minor ports curiosity but not hostility, and they proved that the unprotected but friendly foreigner was in no danger. Only when larger numbers of foreigners, mostly of an aggressive, non-confident type, came to settle in Amoy, Ningpo, and Foochow in the 1850's did this primitive trust give way to mutual suspicion and to danger.

Throughout this entire early period Canton was the principal theatre for the application of the policy of foreign force. The traders who returned to that city after the Opium War regarded their factories, or warehouse residences, as forts to be protected against Chinese demonstrations. Reliance upon firearms seems to have been at the bottom of much trouble. Chinese law at this time forbade Chinese, other than members of the small regular army, to possess guns or pistols. Despite this prohibition opium dealers and other unprincipled foreigners supplied arms to their Chinese associates during the Opium War. The American Board missionaries at that time denied a leading Chinese Christian's request for a gun. In 1846 British Consul Alcock of Foochow advised his nationals to show a conciliatory spirit and refrain from firing from boats or office windows, and to desist from assaulting or killing dogs on the street with canes or firearms except in necessary self-defense! Much sympathy has been expended upon the case of six young Englishmen who were killed while walking near Canton on December 5, 1847. Testimony collected by the British government reveals, however, that the victims had at least two pocket pistols and that they had fired and had killed one Chinese and wounded another. The American missionaries presumed that the young men had begun the struggle. An account, apparently hitherto unpublished, by Dr. Dyer Ball states that the Englishmen seem to have pushed from a narrow path a Chinese load-carrier who had the right-of-way. He struck back with his stick, an Englishman fired at him, villagers rushed out, and a riot ensued in which the British lost their lives. Dr. Ball frequently stated during those tumultous days that he, his wife, his daughters, and other foreigners who were unarmed and without canes and who followed Chinese etiquette could walk in entire safety anywhere around Canton, except in the inner city which no foreigner was permitted to enter. He felt that the crises which periodically engulfed the Canton foreigners were largely of their own needless making.

IF China were to carry out her treaty obligations to foreigners she needed a strong and sympathetic central government. The Manchu Dynasty, however, had lost prestige in the eyes of its own people through its defeat in the Opium War. The quibbling which the foreign group in Canton thereafter began in regard to the interpretation of the treaties, and in the course of which warships often appeared with threats, did nothing to strengthen either the standing of the Chinese administration or international coöperation. Perhaps because it was weak and confused on account of the foreign impact, the government of China found itself faced from 1850 to 1864 with a serious civil war, the Taiping Rebellion. The revolutionary leader was a nominal Christian who eventually proved himself an uninspiring character. Since the fighting was almost entirely in the interior of China, to which until 1860 they had no legal access, the foreigners, although supplied with abundant rumors, knew little about the actual issues or conditions. In 1853, however, when the rebellion had captured Nanking and seemed on the point of dominating China, most of the missionary group followed the precedent they had set years before when they saw the divine hand in the Opium War. They now declared enthusiastically that God was using the Taipings to overthrow the reigning dynasty and open China to the gospel. For this reason many missionaries encouraged the civil war, while more worldly-minded foreigners sold their services, munitions, and even improvised war vessels to either Chinese belligerent.

The Manchu Dynasty was so exhausted by this civil war that it could give no adequate attention to piracy and rebellion which arose in other parts of China. One motley group of rebels, disavowed by the Taipings, captured Shanghai late in 1853 and created so many problems for the foreigners that French soldiers helped the Chinese regulars drive out the rebels in 1855. Meanwhile the Shanghai foreign community had undertaken its own military defense. One missionary upon retiring entrusted his soul to God and placed a hatchet under his pillow! In 1860 when the Taipings experienced a peak of revival and approached Shanghai, foreign forces armed with long-range guns drove them away from the city. Foreigners under "Chinese Gordon" thereafter coöperated with the Chinese for the eventual extinction of the rebellion. During these years the use of firearms hawked by foreigners became so general throughout China that the government has never since been able adequately to restrain the traffic.

WHILE the Taiping Rebellion was at its height, aggressive foreigners involved the already weakened and harassed Chinese government in a new conflict, the Arrow War, which lasted from 1856 to 1860. The chief but indirect cause was the long-standing issue concerning the application of the 1842 Treaty of Nanking, which the British insisted had granted them residence in all parts of Canton. An immediate cause for war appeared in October, 1856, over a supposed insult to the British flag which was flying over the *Arrow,* a Chinese-owned ship. The Chinese refused to make the exact apology specified by Sir John Bowring and his associate, Parkes, and hostilities began. France entered the war on the side of England, both to defend her own treaties and to avenge the murder of a French subject, a Catholic priest, who had been killed in interior China where, incidentally, he had no legal right to be.

The causes for this European war against China in 1856 bear a remarkable resemblance to those advanced by Japan for her present stern measures, and consist of respect for treaties, with no reference to the way in which these were obtained, and defense of national honor and interests which suffered special jeopardy through the murder of a citizen. In the case of Japan the significant victim was Captain Nakamura, killed in the summer of 1931.

True to previous form, American residents in China in 1856 failed to champion the Chinese cause but as a unit hoped for English and French victory. Many of their number, including missionaries and Dr. Peter Parker, who from 1855 to 1857 was America's highest diplomatic officer in China, desired that the United States should openly coöperate with Britain and France in the war. American warships, on the ground of defending life and property and avenging a broadside at the American flag, fired upon the Chinese several times in October, 1856, and demolished some of their forts. America's non-participation in the Arrow War was due to the restraining influence of Washington, which like many a foreign capital has been much more moderate in its attitude toward China than have its nationals and agents in China itself. The missionaries felt that through this war God was taking a new step to open the land to Christianity. They threw to the winds the fact that although treaties and regulations formally limited foreigners to a day's journey from the open ports, the Chinese had for years tolerantly permitted, to those who behaved themselves, journeys and long vacations at interior points far beyond the prescribed bounds. A few more years of peace might have enabled the Occidentals to secure by mutual agreement technical access which they sought. Instead they decided to gain this through force. Although several of the missionaries denounced specific military or naval acts of the British and French, notably the unnecessary and unsuccessful attempt to storm the Taku forts in 1859, they welcomed the foreign capture and entrance into the walled city of Canton, and they hailed the ultimate foreign victory and the new treaties which seemed to open all parts of China. Yet a few of the missionaries, as, amid the ruins of cities, they presided over relief work and food-lines, began to wonder whether the Chinese would forget the methods used

to obtain these treaties, the capture of Peking, the burning of the palace and of one of the world's largest libraries, and the suffering and death of thousands of civilians. Well might Bishop Boone of the Episcopal mission exclaim: "It will take us some time to live it all down!"

THE history of later years has proved that the foreigners have not yet lived it all down. In practically all subsequent crises, as those of the 1890's and of Boxer days, as well as in most of those of our own time, the foreign resort has invariably been to force and to insistence upon technicalities. The Christian church has often seemed to rest upon the sword and gun, and hence to lose its grip. There have been, however, occasional more hopeful gleams in the other direction: the lives of individuals who disavowed the military protection of their governments; the optimistic enthusiasm of Anson Burlingame; John Hay's clever diplomacy for the Open Door; the guarantees of the Washington Conference; the relatively more patient and conciliatory policy which the American and British governments have adopted since 1927; and the present efforts of the League of Nations and the American State Department. If the white man from the West thinks that Japan is standing upon technicalities, he must remember that his race opened both China and Japan by force during the last century, that it has scattered guns and munitions around the globe, and that fifteen years ago it gave its entire attention to a world-wide military struggle into which Japan and China were dragged. He should not be surprised, therefore, that Oriental pupils of the Occident still rely at times upon intervention for the maintenance of treaty rights interpreted according to their own particular wishes.

In the long run, however, no one can gain anything in China through force. The West should, of course, make the utmost legal and moral efforts to avert aggression or war in the Far East and to establish permanent justice. At the same time, Europe and America may predict that when they disarm and practice peace, the Orient, traditionally peace-loving, will most surely be inspired to follow the path of peace.

We're All in the Breadline Now

CEDRIC LONG

DO WE not need to shift the entire emphasis and attention of society from production and finance to consumers' requirements? It is remarkable that even at this late date not only captains of industry and bankers, but liberal and progressive economists and social thinkers as well, are concerned wholly with the problems of financing and distributing products, and organizing the producers. Where the consumers are considered at all, they are regarded merely as wage-earners, as purchasers of the output of factories—the lifeless functionaries in a mechanistic civilization who keep the wheels of commerce and industry revolving.

Thus we have an economic procedure which is often remarkably efficient at producing things (let us not here raise the question of quality) but which cannot distribute them properly. All because the starting point as well as the chief center of interest is always the producer or investor and not the consumer. Try to imagine a group of consumers in charge of their own shoe factory producing twice as many shoes as they could possibly wear and then, because they had too many shoes, deciding they could not afford to wear any shoes at all! Consumers do not do such things. Financiers, manufacturers, wage workers do. On the other hand, the latter do not go on producing shoes, no matter how many people go barefoot, after the making of shoes ceases to yield money profits. Consumers do. And therein lies all the difference between economic sanity and economic insanity. Our system is not aimed at getting the good things of life that the masses need, but at getting the money they can not hold. And the masses themselves are so completely the victims of their own illusions about the significance of money that they think it more important to keep the profit system alive than to reorganize the whole order so that its beginning and end are governed by their own day-to-day needs. By making money and not commodities the object of industry, we have upset the whole equilibrium of our economic order and put the investor and the money-changer on the throne which rules the world.

THAT the profit-controlled order has failed to meet the requirements of consumers and has pretty badly broken down is obvious. Why then should not the consumers themselves run this machinery of production and distribution? While we who are writers or thinkers or talkers puzzle our minds over this question of harnessing production to consumers' needs, thousands of groups of men and women in the cities, towns, and villages of Europe and America, are adopting a coöperative technique for the distribution of life's essentials. In this country, even though we are in the earliest stage of development there are about 2,500 such consumers' societies, most of them legally incorporated.

One of the best known of the consumers' coöperatives in America is that for the distribution of dairy products to some twenty or thirty thousand consumers in Minneapolis, five thousand of whom are actual members and contributors to the working capital of the association. This society now employs four hundred of its own members, operates nearly two hundred delivery trucks and wagons, buys all its milk direct from organized dairy farmers so that no profit to any individual or corporation is extracted from this milk anywhere between the cow and the housewife's table. All employees are union members and enjoy wages and working conditions equal to or better than union standards. The price of milk to Minneapolis families has never been above twelve cents a quart and is often down to ten cents. Moreover, the infant mortality rate definitely dropped when the coöperative went into competition with the private distributors of the city and began to publish regularly the bacteria count and butter fat test of its milk and cream—the health commissioner's way of saying that milk dealers are not killing quite so many babies nowadays. And this coöperative creamery association is only one of many. Farmers have evolved hundreds of coöperative stores, oil stations, and various other informal buying clubs. Workers in factories, mines, offices, or railroads control several hundred similar stores, restaurants, and creameries. All these are, to be sure, not a complete demonstration of production and distribution for use, but they are a good beginning.

THERE are skeptics who insist on being shown something beyond the mere retailing of commodities which are, after all, produced by the same old profit-driven industries which in turn are themselves often the victims of long-fingered landowners. These doubters must be taken to Denmark or Sweden or Finland or England or Germany or even to Soviet Russia. In most of these countries they will find the consumers' ocöperative store or chain of stores in every city, town or village, competing so effectively with the private merchants that the latter are slowly being driven off the scene. They will find coöperative wholesale houses owned and controlled by these retailing societies—we must remember that the system works backward from consumer to producer—the wholesaler in turn owning and operating factories, mills, agricultural plants, and mining properties. In several countries these wholesales are the largest distributing businesses to be found anywhere. One of them, for example, operates upwards of 150 industries, among which are listed coal mines, fishing fleets, tea plantations (in Asia), automobile and bicycle factories, one of the largest banking systems in the country, an insurance department, and printing and publishing plants. Though none of the coöperative systems of Europe, outside Russia, have yet outstripped their capitalist competitors in all fields, several have far outdistanced all competing industries in certain lines such as flour milling, bread baking, manufacture of soap, margarine, biscuits, chocoate, and shoes, and the distribution of groceries, clothing, milk and coal. And it is the ambition of all of them to reach right back to the social control of natural resources.

The chief distinction between the joint stock corporation and the coöperative association is in their respective methods of disposing of the earned surplus from operations. The private corporation distributing gasoline through County A, after setting aside something for reserves, turns over to the stockholders a five to seventy-five per cent dividend, each share of stock receiving its quota of the profit. The coöperative which distributes the same commodity to the farmers throughout County B likewise strengthens its reserve funds, pays interest at some fixed low rate to the members on their investment, perhaps puts a few hundred dollars into the educational fund, and then rebates the balance back to the consumers in *proportion to their purchases*. Hundreds of such oil coöperatives this past year have made "profits" of 100, 200, and 300 per cent, if reckoned as return on capital stock. But as coöperatives never return profits to capital stock, this distribution of earnings takes the shape of patronage rebates of 12, 15, 18 or even 20 per cent on purchases. Gasoline thus bought the coöperative way costs exactly the wholesale price in carload lots plus handling and financing charges.

COOPERATIVE business knows no glutted markets, for its markets are established and sure. There is no problem of high pressure salesmanship, ballyhoo advertising, special premiums, concessions or other bait to trap reluctant buyers. Instead, there is publicity as to quality and price values of the items handled; education in the economic significance and purpose of the coöperative way of directing the new economic order; social, recreational and cultural activities of a thousand varieties of, by and for the consumer members. Altogether, the blend of business enterprise and fraternal organization is so complete that few have eyesight keen enough to detect where one ends and the other begins. Employment fluctuations are very slight under such a regime. Wages and conditions of labor are much better than the average when consumers select an employe from among their own members and measure his needs by their own; and service rendered by the employe to his organization and his neighbors and friends is much more thorough and conscientious than when given only to a private profit-seeking employer or a stock corporation. There is a world of difference between the profit-making store in which the counter separates people economically at war and the coöperative store in which those on the two sides of the counter are partners working for a common goal.

Contrasts are equally striking in the international as-

pects of the question, for the consumers' system of economics seeks no foreign markets, has no imperialistic ambitions, requires no army and navy to protect trade in other lands. It buys but does not sell overseas; at worst the coöperative wholesales of different countries exchange goods with one another. Tariffs it considers an abomination,for it is interested not in maintaining lucrative domestic markets, but in increasing consumers' goods of high quality and marketing them at the lowest possible price.

I HAVE tried to show how a consumers' economy with its flank attack on privilege in theory might remove very many of the inequalities that are all too visible under the profit system which dominates us today, how in its ultimate reaches it could eliminate most of the economic causes of conflict between classes and nations—the tariffs, passports, armies, navies, secret commercial agents, price wars, super-salesmanship, privilege in high places. I have attempted also to show something of what is actually being accomplished by pioneering consumers' business organizations in the various countries of the world. These coöperatives offer to the perplexed both a theory and a working model of an economic system that has equitable distribution as its purpose and increased consumption as its goal. It catches up this huge surplus which today is being ploughed back into excessive production and returns it to consumers in the form of increased purchasing power. It is sharply distinguished from all those economic programs which revolve around the pivot production of investment in that it places the consumer at the center of the world of industry, commerce, and credit.

Possibly this development of an economic distribution of life's essentials (the luxuries can shift for themselves) is not coming fast enough to save us from the utter collapse of capitalism. The best I can say is that during the year 1929 (figures for 1930 not being available) the coöperatives in all the major countries of Europe made large gains in membership, trade turn-over, and net surplus, while profit-seeking business was steadily losing ground. I do not insist that coöperation's gains were as great as capitalism's losses; but the gains were substantial. We can pass over the unbelievable advances made in Russia (where the losses to capitalism were equally unbelievable). But in England during the year of 1929, when other forms of business were slipping badly, the coöperatives increased their gross income by $35,000,000 (to a new high total of $1,085,000,000); the capital invested by the members rose from $497,000,000 to $535,000,000; and their membership increased from 5,888,000 to 6,169,000 men and women. The earned net surplus ("profit") for the fiscal year 1929 was $131,000,000—$7,000,000 more than was earned during 1928.

While it is true the consumers' coöperative system has not in 1929 (nor at any other time) created a millionaire, it has saved for its membership funds which might under another set of rules have made 130 millionaires. While profit corporations were turning workers out into the streets, the coöperatives took on an additional 10,000 employees. Thus in one country alone consumers' coöperation put back into the channels of consumption most of the $131,000,000 of earnings which under capitalism would have gone to investors and in large part been turned into new investment or into luxury living. Even more important, it added the purchasing power of 10,000 new wage earners to the economic scene in England.

Nor is England an exception. Most of the countries of central, western, and northern Europe offer coöperative figures equally or only slightly less significant. To quote from a recent address of President Liddle of the 1930 Congress of British coöperatives: "In years when capitalism betrays its weakness, coöperation reveals its strength."

ONE final question occurs. Will these supine, slow-witted and incomprehensibly naive consumers of America ever awaken to the possibilities of a consumers' control of raw materials, industry, credit and distribution? Is it conceivable that anything they might build would not be taken away from them some dark night, or even in broad daylight, by the present rulers of economic life on this continent, past masters as they are at taking away other people's belongings Anyone's answer is as good as my own, and I do not know. But I am convinced that capitalism has made an awful mess of the job it is trying to do, and is rapidly destroying for many people not only the respect with which they once regarded this unaccountably whimsical method of doing business, but even much of their patience as well. In times like these millions of men and women have more time and provocation for thinking about the fundamentals of life, and breadlines and circuses will not satisfy them all. I know that two thousand groups of consumers in the United States and several hundred more in Canada are already experimenting in consumers' ownership and operation of business enterprises, and their example is certain to be emulated. Moreover, knowledge of what the consumers' movement is doing overseas has led not only our eminent economists to do some serious thinking but even many of our beneficiaries of special privilege, who, though prosperous and self-confident only a few months ago, are for the first time experiencing an economic pinch.

So, Fellow Soup Seekers, how about it? Do we cling to our places in this breadline and take the soup and bread and coffee handed us and keep quiet? Or do we organize and get out and hustle for our own food and eat joyously in the knowledge that at last we are finding the road to emancipation?

Not in the Headlines

Friends are invited to share with our readers their own discoveries of significant news items.

Socialist Government Surplus

The City of Milwaukee is closing the year with all bills paid and approximately four million dollars in the bank.

Consumers Would Aid Workers

Compulsory unemployment insurance to be administered by the state was advocated in a resolution passed at the annual meeting of the National Consumers' League.

Ten Millions in School

The Commissar for Education of Soviet Russia reports that more than ten million children were enrolled in school at the end of the fiscal year, a marked increase over any previous period.

Socialism in Action

The number of municipalities and townships in Ontario owning and operating electric plants has increased within twenty years from 12 to 668, the capital invested has mounted from $3,600,000 to 359 millions, the amount of electrical energy developed has grown from 1,000 to 1,250,000 horsepower, according to a report by the American Consul at Toronto.

The Trend Toward Socialism

A survey just completed by the Research Department of the American Association for Old Age Security, covering 3,244 editorial expressions in more than 1,500 newspapers throughout the United States during the last two years, revealed that 1,033 newspapers had published 2,086 editorials urging self-respecting pensions for the indigent aged. Only 587 editorials in 312 newspapers were hostile to the proposal.

Ministers Organize Union

Some ministers in and about New York have organized themselves into a union open to Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, without distinction of race. The primary object is to voice belief in the justice of labor's cause and to seek economic application of religious principles. Also they have in mind the maintenance of the freedom of the pulpit. Detailed information may be obtained from the secretary, Lloyd Imes, 242 East 14th Street, New York.

Try and Live on This

A survey covering 94,529 workers in 13 important industries, conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, revealed the fact that on July 1, 1931 the average entrance wage for common labor was approximately 41 cents per hour. In the South Atlantic area the averages were: meat packing, 40¢; petroleum, 40¢; paper and pulp, 37¢; public utilities, 37¢; iron and steel, 36¢; leather, 34¢; general contracting, 29¢; foundries, 28¢; brick and tile, 22¢; sawmills, 14¢. At 14 cents per hour, ten hours per day, 300 days per year, a worker's income amounts to $420 annually—if and when employed!

Forty-four Millions

At the end of 1929 there were 44,190,525 members of trade unions throughout the world, according to figures presented by M. B. Scheler in *Current History Magazine.*

The Great I Am!

A Providence, Rhode Island, boy recently won a motorcycle as an international prize for the best answer to a question asked by the Ballila, a Fascist youth organization. The question was: "What is Italy?" The winning reply was: "The country where Mussolini was born."

The American Dole

A benefit for unemployed relief by Newport society women took the form of a greased pig race at midnight on Thanksgiving day. In Pittsburgh one million cans of fruit and vegetables will be distributed to the poor this winter by the Surplus for Needy Committee. In Fredonia, Kansas, funds have been solicited with which to furnish work to unemployed persons at the wage of one dollar per day, payment being made in the form of an order for groceries.

Explorations in Race Relations

An interesting venture into the field of race relations has been undertaken by the Hollis Church, Long Island, of which the Rev. Lorne W. Brown, is pastor. Members of the young people's society recently went on a "Reconciliation Trip" to Harlem, New York City after which, at a public Sunday evening service, five of the young people made brief reports. This was followed by an address at a subsequent service given by James H. Hubert, Executive Secretary of the New York Urban League, and, finally, the crowning event of all, Harry Burleigh, the well-known Negro baritone singer, appeared before the congregation on the evening of December 6th, singing several numbers, signing innumerable autographs, and expressing in heartiest fashion his appreciation of the inter-racial understandings furthered by such an occasion.

ARMAMENTS EXPENDITURES OF GREAT POWERS
(In million £)

	Defence Expenditures (excluding pensions)				
	Average, 1909-13	1928	1929	1930	Percentage Increase since 1909-13 Average
					%
Great Britain	64	99.9	99.0	95.0	48
France	60	79.2	98.7	94.0	57
Germany	70	37.6	33.8	35.1	−50
Italy	25	52.7	50.4	53.6	114
United States of America	61.7	138.9	146.2	145.4	135
Japan	19.7	48.8	48.0	48.0	143
Total, Great Powers	376.4	557.7	595.0	590.0	57

—League of Nations' Armaments Year Book.

Canadian Farmer-Labor Politics

WILFRID EGGLESTON

THE Farm-Labor groups in the Canadian House of Commons total 15 in a House membership of 245. They comprise one section of an Opposition which can at the present time muster only 109 votes against 136 on the government side, and consequently enjoy no such extraordinary influence as occasionally occurs when the two main parties are deadlocked. Happily for that section of the Canadian public which they represent, the intellectual and parliamentary calibre of the fifteen members is above the average, and their influence on the legislation passed from time to time has been and is now considerably greater than their numbers and the disposition of the several parties would suggest.

So much may be seen in a cursory review of their activities in the regular session of parliament which met March 12th, 1931, and was prorogued August 3rd, 1931. Robert Gardiner, their leader (his title is "chairman of the coöperating groups"), a grain farmer from Southern Alberta, demanded and obtained from the government a parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the Beauharnois Light, Heat and Power Company, a corporation which is diverting a large flow from the St. Lawrence River into a power canal and which proposed ultimately to exploit the whole flow in the largest single power project on earth. The result was sensational. The gravest disclosures since the famous Pacific Scandal of 1874 came to light.

Robert Gardiner and his band of fifteen had the satisfaction, before Parliament was prorogued, of voting for an act which expropriates the banks and bed of the power canal and takes over the ownership of all navigation features "for the general advantage of Canada." Other clauses in the act foreshadow the complete control of the project by the federal government and formulate the principle that never again shall water diversion be approved by the governor in council, as this was. The hope of the Farm-Labor group that the Beauharnois project might be developed as a great national utility has so far been thwarted by the powerful private ownership sentiment of the province of Quebec, where the power is situated, but they have not given up hope that this natural wealth may yet be distributed by the people for the people.

WHAT else did they do, these fifteen members? They lost no opportunity of placing graphically before the country the gravity of the unemployment situation, and when the government finally acknowledged the seriousness of the crisis, they were entitled to some credit for the adequacy of the provisions. They pleaded day after day for something more constructive than unemployment relief. In this direction they were not so successful but, during a debate which they precipitated on unemployment insurance, they secured from Premier R. B. Bennett a promise that his government would begin at once to compile the necessary information, and that before they went out of power they would place unemployment insurance legislation on the statute books.

The Gardiner group also prevailed upon the government to call a conference of provinces and the Dominion to discuss the setting-up of machinery which would make amendments to the Canadian constitution possible. Among their other accomplishments was an alliance with the Liberals for the purpose of attacking the prime minister's proposal to lift the super-tax off large incomes, and they had the satisfaction of seeing that proposal withdrawn. In addition, they fought militarism, supported the work of the League of Nations, moved a resolution (the work of Agnes MacPhail, sole woman member of the House) that for every hundred dollars spent on preparation for war, a dollar should be spent on education for peace, and protested against the persecution of Ukrainian minorities in Poland. They waged some doughty battles for freedom of speech, decried the inequality of criminal sentences, and apparent discrimination against the poor and the unimportant. Then, looking beyond the current palliatives for economic depression and unemployment, they made constructive suggestions. Alfred Speakman, of the United Farmers of Alberta, moved that a "National Council of Social and Economic Research" be created.

These achievements of the past session illustrate the contention of J. S. Woodsworth that even a group modest in numbers in a legislative chamber such as Canada's can do three things: (1) secure concrete legislation; (2) force the pace of the older parties; (3) educate public opinion to make possible tomorrow legislation which is impossible today.

THE Farm-Labor group came to Ottawa in 1921 on the wave of an enthusiastic post-war "reform" psychology which carried 64 Farm and three Labor members to Ottawa in a House then consisting of 235 members. By 1925 forces of disintegration had set in, and only 26 Farm-Labor members survived the election of that year. Somewhat oddly, the 26 possessed far more power in a House whose membership had been increased to 245 than they had when they were 67 strong

in a House of 235. The Liberals, who formed a government with the second largest group, could only survive in the House by loyal support from the Farm-Labor group. This the latter was prepared to render, but in return they expected the Liberals to endorse some of their own proposals.

That parliament—it only lasted a year—is looked back upon with pride, as the following paragraph from a summary of ten years of legislation recently published by the United Farmers of Alberta suggests:

> Legislation providing for Old Age Pensions was passed in 1926, when the Government was more or less dependent on our coöperation. In that year the tariff on automobiles and trucks was materially reduced, and the Farm Loan Act and other measures of Reform were secured. *This brief session was the most productive of useful legislation of any period in the history of Canada.*

After the election of 1926 the Farm-Labor group came back to Ottawa with 27 supporters, of whom several were won over to the Liberal party, so that when that Parliament dissolved in 1930 their ranks had been reduced to 21. Further inroads were made in their numbers in the general election of last year, only 15 surviving the contest, all but one veterans of earlier parliaments. Superficially the story of the Farm-Labor groups appears one of rapid decline after an amazing burst of strength at the outset. The group that is left, however, is tried and true.

Students who are curious to know why some political groups survive and others rapidly disappear might find it instructive to inquire into the Farmers' movement in Alberta as contrasted with the same movement in Ontario or Saskatchewan. The United Farmers of Alberta elected nine members in 1921 and they still number nine. Except for one seat they represent every purely rural constituency in Alberta.

The United Farmers of Alberta were in existence as a coöperative buying and selling organization for a decade before they decided to go into politics. The president from 1916 until 1930 was a former Iowa farmer, Henry Wise Wood, whose democratic theories of political organization are generally given credit for the persistence of the Farmer movement provincially and federally in his province. The unit in the U.F.A. is the farmers' local, consisting of the organized farmers in a small rural area, or the district adjacent to a village or small town. When a political candidate is to be selected, the locals send delegates to a constituency convention for the purpose. There is no outside control, no party control. They make much of "Constituency Autonomy." The locals in the constituency finance their own campaign, and no indebtedness to a central party coffer is accumulated. The candidate so chosen, if successful at the polls, goes to Ottawa under no party whip or other party obligation. He is expected to coöperate with other U.F.A. members, and the U.F.A. group in turn is expected "to coöperate as such with other parliamentary parties, groups, or individual members, when practicable to do so in the interests of desirable legislation." (The quotation is from the "Principles" adopted by the U.F.A. in 1925.) Members "shall be expected to attach themselves to no other legislative group or party." That clause prevented among the U.F.A. members the alienation to rival banners which occurred among the Farmer members from certain other provinces. The general policy followed by U.F.A. members is laid down for them at the annual convention of the organization held at Calgary or Edmonton, a democratic gathering usually dubbed the "Farmers' Parliament."

THE Labor movement in Canada has grown up much closer to the British tradition than to that of Washington. It is a child of the workshop and the trade union rather than the university. It is true that the Canadian Labor leader, James Shaver Woodsworth, has much of the patrician and the intellectual in his heritage and upbringing, but even he has served as a longshoreman and knows at first hand the problems of the manual laborer. A. A. Heaps and Angus MacInnis, his two colleagues, are trade union men. The former was an upholsterer, the latter a street railway motorman. Mr. Woodsworth came to Ottawa with the first of the Farm-Labor contingent in 1921, and it would be a trite and obvious remark to say that he has made more speeches, raised more large issues, and exercised greater influence on the House of Commons than any other private member in that period.

The next general election will be a crucial one for the Farm-Labor group. Last election they hoped to increase their 21 members to 30; instead they elected only 15. But Canada is in the middle of the same economic collapse as the United States. The grandiose schemes of the Conservative party to end unemployment are being discredited. The Liberal party has lost caste through the Beauharnois disclosures. Farmers never faced a more hopeless prospect, and the cities seethe with jobless men and women. Farm and Labor leaders claim to offer, by the introduction of socialistic policies, some more hopeful way out of the mess than a return to the recurring cycles of inflation and depression, speculation and distress, labor famines and hordes of unemployed which, in their estimation, are inevitable consequences of the capitalistic system which holds profit above human welfare. It is at least possible that by 1934 Canadian voters will be prepared to send a large Farm-Labor bloc once more to the House of Commons.

The by-election in the constituency of Hamilton East last August, resulting in the election of Humphrey Mitchell (Labor) by a majority of nearly 4,000, brings the Labor group at Ottawa to four, the largest in its

history. It was a triumph for J. S. Woodsworth and his colleagues. They converted a governmental majority of 4,000 in July, 1930, into a governmental defeat of about the same proportions; they stormed a Conservative stronghold of 35 years standing; they defeated a highly popular young sporting editor who had done many things for his constituency. By-elections held early in the life of a government are not commonly lost, especially when previously held by a government supporter with a large majority, and there is no doubt all parties in Canada felt that the Labor victory was a significant one.

Newspapers supporting the Bennett government explained away the defeat by observing that upsets were not uncommon in large industrial centers at a time of unemployment and unrest. But the large vote given Mitchell may be interpreted as a willingness on the part of the electorate to give the principles of the Labor party a trial at a time when those of the old-time parties are so obviously incompetent to meet the current situation. Mitchell was supported in his campaign by E. J. Garland, most fluent orator of the United Farmers of Alberta, and by Agnes MacPhail, witty, wise and fair representative of the United Farmers of Ontario, as well as by the federal Labor members. The Farmer groups thus shared in the triumph.

Nothing at the moment suggests a general election before 1934, and anything might happen by then. It would be rash to discuss what mood the country might be in when next Farmer and Labor groups make their appeal to the people. It is obvious, however, that a general election now would result in a mighty swing toward radicalism. The prairie provinces are today like tinder waiting the match; they would elect Farmers, Coöperatives, Communists, almost everything but the old-time parties. J. S. Woodsworth would be certain to gain further support from the large industrial centres. These gains could only be made at the expense of the present main parties, and unless a new complexion is seen on economic affairs before the next general election, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that the Farm-Labor groups might again assume control of the House of Commons. Indeed it is not inconceivable that they might be called upon to form a government.

The Nobel Peace Prize

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

IF the dead really turn in their graves, whenever their wills are carried out contrary to their intentions, poor Alfred Nobel, founder of the greatest European endowment for the advancement of humanity, is not having a very restful time. There has seldom been an idealist more consistent in thought and action than the renowned Swedish inventor, and there has seldom been greater inconsistency between a man's will and its execution. The desire to support peace workers was the basic idea of the Nobel Foundation, yet the peace prize is awarded with utter disregard for this desire.

Baroness Suttner once told me that Alfred Nobel had conceived the idea of his endowment during a conversation with her on the subject of peace. He knew that her husband, Baron Gundaccar Arthur von Suttner, had died prematurely at the age of fifty because the Suttners could not afford to spend a year in a Southern country where he could have recovered. Nobel also knew that the entailed Suttner estate did not yield enough to enable Bertha von Suttner to carry out her life work without constant worry and financial trouble.

Alfred Nobel believed unreservedly that the world must be freed of wars. He was deeply impressed by the devotion and cleverness of Baroness Suttner in her indefatigable pursuit of this aim. His first interview with the Baroness made such an impression on him that his vague plans for the disposal of his vast fortune at once took definite shape. In those days it was not yet the fashion among millionaires to put their wealth at the disposal of reformers and reform movements. Alfred Nobel was certainly one of the first multi-millionaires to consider his wealth not a family affair but a trust to be put into service for public benefit. Two of Noble's most intimate friends, who were also witnesses of his famous will, the Swedish engineers, Leonard Hwass and R. W. Strehlenert, testified during the fight of the Nobel family to break the will that he had repeatedly told them of his intention to leave his entire fortune for public service. Mr. Hwass quoted Nobel as saying:

> My family is rich enough. They do not need more than they already have . . . I do not feel any obligation to add my money to what they have hoarded. But I wish to create a spiritual family which, down through the ages, shall be enabled to give their best services to humanity through the agency of my money.

So far he knew what he wanted: his fortune was not to be left to his family. But not until he met Bertha von Suttner did he see clearly how to formulate the positive side of his idea.

> There are dreamers in the world, seers of things beautiful to be accomplished for the benefit of mankind. But they do not always live under conditions that enable them to convert their visions and dreams into deeds. The world needs just these visionaries . . .

So spoke Alfred Nobel, and out of this thought was born a remarkable disposition of an immense fortune. Nobel left about one million Swedish *kroner* to the less wealthy members of a distant branch of his family, and thirty-five million to the famous Nobel Foundation. He provided for five prizes of about 150,000 *kroner* each, to be awarded each year in the spheres of pacifism, physics, chemistry, medicine, and literature. He believed that sum to be sufficient to put the recipients on a moderately comfortable basis. In talks with his friends, he explained fully how he expected his money to be used by the members of his "spiritual family." "The scientists can equip a laboratory," he said to Mr. Hwass, "the poet or pacifist build a home, and the rest will yield interest, assuring them a modest but carefree living." At the time of Nobel's death, 150,000 Swedish *kroner* meant a good deal.

Himself an individualist, Alfred Nobel believed that he could best serve the masses by cultivating highly giftful individuals whose talents would thus become useful to all. Remembering his own bitter struggle for recognition and success, he wished to save others from similar experiences. It was especially the dreamers and visionaries who appealed to him. He was eager to help those who were desirous of giving mankind hitherto unknown beauty, wisdom, and happiness—men and women hampered by the indifference or hostility of a world that can see what has been, but rarely what might be *if* . . . He wanted to free impecunious but highly gifted scientists, poets and peace workers—inventors as well as practical idealists. He did not wish to reward people who already had fortunes or could make enough money to carry out their ambitions. Nor did he think of merely honoring people for accomplishments in the fields he admired. Above all, he wished men and women to receive the prize while they were young enough to give promise of further achievement if released from the struggle for the bare necessities of life.

IN diametrical opposition to all his clearly stated views, Alfred Nobel's will has been so interpreted as to reward famous and successful celebrities in all categories, especially in the field of pacifism and literature. The Nobel prizes have, with very few exceptions, gone to persons who have never had to fight the sordid battle for a livelihood or else had already succeeded in their struggle.

Nobel wanted to facilitate Bertha von Suttner's spirited campaign for world disarmament. But in mocking contrast to his intentions, six others—Henry Dunant, Frederick Passy, Elie Ducommun, Albert Gobat, W. Randall Cremer, and the Institut de Droit International—received the peace prize ahead of her, and of them all, only M. Gobat, the Swiss pacifist, came anywhere near the class Nobel himself would have chosen. And when in 1905, Baroness von Suttner finally received the prize, it did not do her much good because she had to spend the greater part of the money in order to clear herself of debts. It was the privilege of Andrew Carnegie to lift the burden of financial difficulties from the shoulders of the great pacifist in the last year of her life. When the Baroness came to America in 1912, Carnegie offered her an allowance. When I last met her at the opening of the Carnegie Peace Palace in the Hague in 1913, she told me how happy that allowance had made her, for it permitted her to devote her entire energy to preparations for the International Peace Congress which was to have been held in September, 1914, in Vienna. Bertha von Suttner died in June 1914, happily ignorant of the horrible tragedy hovering over the world.

Theodore Roosevelt received the prize after Baroness Suttner as a "reward" for negotiating the Russo-Japanese peace. He did not need the money, nor did it inspire the famous roughrider to efforts in behalf of world disarmament which, in the Suttner-Nobel conception, is the goal of all peace activities. The same spirit prevailed in the later bestowal of the award to E. T. Moneta, L. Renault, Frederick Bajer, A. M. F. Beernaert, Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the International Peace Bureau in Berne, T. M. C. Asser, Alfred Fried, Elihu Root, and Henri LaFontaine. Most of these men were well-to-do; several of them so old that shortly after receiving the prize they died, leaving the Nobel money as an inheritance to indifferent relatives.

When in 1896, Alfred Nobel died at the age of 63, his will was contested by his family, who objected to disposing of the money in the manner he had outlined. It took five years in the Swedish courts before the Nobel fortune could be turned over to the trustees, whereupon the latter proceeded to award the prizes more according to their own notions than in compliance with Nobel's clearly defined ideas.

Occasionally the executors of the will realized that they were off the track. They tried to correct their mistakes by suggesting that prize-winners who did not need the money should pass it on, retaining for themselves the "honor" of having received the award.

Theodore Roosevelt carried that out to an absurd degree. He turned the money over to his Government for the establishment of a peace commission, but after the outbreak of the World War, he changed his mind and asked Congress to return the sum. It sounds like a practical joke, but it is true: Roosevelt distributed the 150,000 *kroner* ($45,482.83)—which was designed to "free highly gifted, impecunious forces for unrestrained pacifist service"—among persons and organizations engaged in active war relief work!

IN other ways the real intention of Nobel's bequest has been ignored or ludicrously distorted. On one occasion the executors planned the erection of a huge

palace out of the money from the foundation. Fortunately, the energetic protests of Nobel's personal friends, especially Strehlenert and Hwass, prevented that mistake. In 1914, Professor Dutton of Columbia University announced that he intended to push the candidacy of King Albert of Belgium for the peace prize. In 1920, the Hungarian advisers proposed Wilhelmina, Queen of the Netherlands, for the prize as a reward for her country's after-war relief work. With all due respect to these monarchs, it is hard to see how Alfred Nobel could receive them into the family of his "impecunious fighters for pacifism." After Warren G. Harding's death, the tragi-comic suggestion was made and seriously discussed that the 1923 peace prize be awarded posthumously to the late President. Thus was Nobel's exalted ideal dragged down to the militarist mockery of conferring medals and military degrees on dead soldiers.

Between 1914 and 1916, the distribution of the peace prize was suspended, though the awards for science and literature were made as usual. This is another example of the deplorable lack of understanding of Nobel's real aims. In the very years when work for world peace was superhumanly difficult, persons and institutions faithfully pursuing this aim should have been loyally supported, in accordance with the spirit of Nobel.

One of the greatest ambitions of Kaiser Wilhelm was to be a recipient of the Nobel peace prize, and on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his rule over the German Empire, he was seriously considered as a candidate. The trustees of the Foundation were again saved from so absurd a mistake by the outbreak of the World War. But blunder they must. In tedious pursuance of their mishandling of the peace prize, they gave it in 1917 to the International Red Cross, a decided war organization; in 1919 to Woodrow Wilson, the "war President of the United States"; in 1920 to Leon Bourgeois; in 1921 to Hjalmar Branting and Christian Lange; and in 1922 to Fritjoff Nansen. Mr. Nansen stands high in the estimation of everyone. He is admired as an explorer, an important figure in international relief services, and as a decided peace factor in the world. Yet the fact that he did not need the money—he gave it to the Near East Relief—indicated that the award was made contrary to the spirit of Nobel's will. Mr. Lange, the Norwegian General-Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union, is one of the few Peace Prize holders who answers the qualifications.

In 1923 and 1924, the peace prizes were not awarded. The "young and impecunious pacifists," General Charles G. Dawes and Austen Chamberlain, received the 1925 award while the equally needy Briand and Stresemann received it in 1926. In 1927 the prize went to the venerable parliamentarians, Ferdinand Buisson of France and Ludwig Quidde of Germany. After another rest of two years, the committee decided to award the 1929 prize to Frank B. Kellogg and that of 1930 to Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, shortly before the aged primate of Sweden died. In consistent pursuance of their policy the trustees awarded the 1931 peace prize to Nicholas Murray Butler and Jane Addams. Both are noble pacifists, but neither is young nor impecunious enough to fit Nobel's idea of membership in his "spiritual family." Miss Addams has announced that she will hand the full amount of the award over to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This gives her the distinction of being the first peace prize winner who is correcting the choice of the trustees in the spirit of Nobel's intention, for the W. I. L. is undoubtedly an organization that is entitled to such a prize.

THE scientists fared a little better. The late Pierre Curie, Madame Curie, who received the chemistry prize twice, and the Canadian physician, Dr. Banting, who got the medicine prize, are perfect examples of the type of recipient Nobel had in mind. They received the prize not as an empty honor but as a support for future work, of which their achievements gave splendid promise.

In the sphere of literature, there is hardly one prize winner whom Nobel himself would have chosen. It was his purpose to aid young, idealistic lyric poets who were struggling against great odds. But in the list of literature prize winners we find chiefly successful, rich philosophers, dramatists, and novelists. The few poets among them have all arrived safely in the harbour of wealth and fame.

It is difficult to understand how the advisers and trustees can fit the vast majority of these prize winners into the frame of Nobel's ideal as expressed in his will. There should be some code of honor compelling trustees to stick to the letter and the spirit of a will of such public importance. And candidates ought to refuse the prize if those in charge of its distribution get so far away from the founder's intentions as the Nobel trustees have done.

Never before has the world needed independent, gifted peace workers as it needs them now. To free young people of proved ability from wasting their valuable talents on mere bread-winning, and to give them the modest financial security of the Nobel peace prize is the duty and the privilege of the Nobel Committee. There are plenty of young men and women, potential pacifist leaders, splendidly fit to become members of Nobel's spiritual family. If the sponsors and trustees would scan the horizon for these, and liberate them for future service, instead of "honoring" and "rewarding" aged personages for past achievements, they would be serving world peace in accordance with Alfred Nobel's ideal.

Declaration of an American Citizen

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court of the United States has refused citizenship to Professor Douglas Clyde Macintosh on the ground that he was unwilling to promise to subject his conscience to an act of Congress in the event of a war which he believed to be unjust and contrary to the will of God; and

WHEREAS, the ground upon which the Court's decision rested was the alleged fact that every native-born citizen of the United States has impliedly made the identical promise which Mr. Macintosh refused to make, and that to admit Mr. Macintosh with such a reservation of conscience would give him a privileged status as a citizen in comparison with the status of native-born citizens; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court's decision, together with the argument on which it rests, affects not only an applicant for naturalization but every native-born citizen, whether he be willing or unwilling to bear arms in event of war, and lends itself to a justification of any form of tyranny over the free conscience of American citizens; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court, referring to Professor Macintosh, says:

> "When he speaks of putting his allegiance to the will of God above his allegiance to the government, it is evident . . . that he means to make his own interpretation of the will of God the decisive test. . . . We are a Christian people. . . . But we are also a nation with the duty to survive, . . . a nation whose government must go forward upon the assumption . . . that unqualified allegiance to the nation and submission and obedience to the laws of the land, as well those made for war as those made for peace, are not inconsistent with the will of God;" and

WHEREAS, it is a fundamental principle of democracy that conscience shall not be sacrificed to the state, but that the state accepts the responsibility of so fashioning its policies that it will enlist the support of the free consciences of its citizens; and

WHEREAS, no principle contributes so much to the moral dignity and to the purifying and stabilizing of democracy as the guarantee of a free conscience to all its citizens and an unhindered right to worship and serve God according to the dictates of a free conscience; and

WHEREAS, in his dissenting opinion in this same case Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, with the concurrence of Justices Brandeis, Holmes and Stone, denied that the Constitution and the oath of allegiance can rightly be made to bear the interpretation advanced by the majority of the Court, and affirmed the contrary view as follows:

> "In the forum of conscience, duty to a moral power higher than the state has always been maintained. The reservation of that supreme obligation, as a matter of principle, would unquestionably be made by many of our conscientious and law abiding citizens. The essence of religion is belief in a relation to God involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation. . . . One cannot speak of religious liberty, with proper appreciation of its essential and historic significance, without assuming the existence of a belief in supreme allegiance to the will of God; and

WHEREAS, insofar as citizens assent to the doctrine advanced by the Court's decision they consent to the nullification of the most basic principle of ethical religion, and surrender their own and the church's freedom to preach and practice that truth which is the vital breath of any spiritual faith, namely, that God alone is Lord of the conscience, and that we must obey God rather than men; and

WHEREAS, if native-born American citizens allow the imputation of such an obligation to pass without protest, they thereby acquiesce in a ruling which is not only, in the language of Chief Justice Hughes, "repugnant to the fundamental principle of representative government," but which radically modifies the spirit of our democracy and smothers spiritual religion by setting up the state as the supreme object of devotion beyond which religion dare not go; and

WHEREAS, it is required of citizens when entering upon public office, whether federal or state, and when applying for passports, and on many other occasions, to take the oath of allegiance which, under this decision, now implies the giving of an absolute pledge to hold their personal consciences in subservience to the will of Congress as the final interpretation of the will of God; now

THEREFORE, I, a native-born citizen of the United States, solemnly refuse to acknowledge the obligation which the supreme court declares to be binding upon native-born citizens. I have not promised, expressly or tacitly, to accept an act of Congress as the final interpretation of the will of God, and I will not do so. In my allegiance to my country I withhold nothing, not even my life. But I cannot give my conscience. That belongs to God. I repudiate the obligation which the Supreme Court's decision would impose upon me, and declare that the imposition of such an obligation is the essence of tyranny. I refuse to be bound by it.

I further solemnly declare that until this intolerable restriction upon conscience and religion has been removed, I will not take the oath of allegiance upon any occasion without adding thereto a reservation of the right of conscience and of my supreme allegiance to the will of God.

And I further solemnly declare that I will use whatever influence is within my power, in my personal relations or in public address, to inform others and to awaken them to the peril in which this decision involves their traditional and most fundamental liberty, and I will do all that lies within my power to secure a reversal of this decision by the court itself or its correction through adequate legislation by Congress.

(Signed) .....

Street Address .....

City and State.....

Position .....

This Declaration is being circulated cooperatively by the religious press of the nation. Signatures may be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, *52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City, or some other participating journal, for compilation and despatch to Washington.*

Pastors, teachers, and other interested persons desiring additional copies of the Declaration for circulation among members of their congregations or classes, or among their friends, may secure them upon request.

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Through the Eyes of a Rabbi

As a Jew Sees Jesus. By Ernest R. Trattner. Scribners. $2.00.

THIS volume is one of a group of books published in recent years by Jewish scholars and divines who are engaged in a serious and sympathetic study of Jesus of Nazareth. While not attempting the exhaustive treatment of Montefiore or Klausner, Rabbi Trattner follows them in a determined attempt to see Jesus as he lived in Palestine. Just because he does not use, for all to see, the critical apparatus of the scholar, he makes an attractive and readable book for the wayfaring man. It is only lately that Jews who still retain the faith of their fathers, have seen, or at least have publicly announced that they have seen, in Jesus anything approaching the nobility of character, the spiritual insight, the magnet attraction which have been commonplaces in the Christian world. All these Rabbi Trattner perceives and, with characteristic honesty, he gives the credit to Christian scholars: "The chief reason for such a striking reversal of the Jewish attitude is to be found in the results of Christian scholarship itself which undertook the serious task of 'rediscovering' the strict humanity of Christ."

Of course, what the present author discovers is not identical with the picture given by T. R. Glover, Middleton, Murry, or the author of *By an Unknown Disciple*—to take three very different results of the process. He sees Jesus as a Jew of the Jews to whom has been imputed by the early church an anti-Jewish, anti-Pharisaic attitude which he never could have had. He sees Jesus as a man around whom have clustered a number of mythical stories. To him the Fourth Gospel comes in for special attack as being "more pagan, more Greek, more metaphysical, more dogmatic, more non-historical, and more anti-Jewish than all the other three put together."

Jesus may not have been as original as Christians believe: Rabbi Trattner is at pains to prove the point. But he is also at pains to show wherein the greatness and originality of the Carpenter of Nazareth did lie. "No Jewish prophet before Jesus," he says, "ever searched out the miserable, the sick, the weak and the downtrodden in order to pour forth love and compassionate service." In this fact the Rabbi sees "an altogether original method." Again: "He did not feel that it was necessary to force God's hand in order to make Him help the Jews throw off the yoke of Rome. Jesus' faith in God's ability knew no limiting conditions."

Dr. Trattner ranks himself with the scholars who believe that Jesus did come to regard himself as Messiah, that it was not a mere "post-resurrection development." In the parable of the Prodigal Son, "Jesus' own masterpiece," in the thoughts expressed in the beautitudes to which he gave "a power they never had before," in the whole Sermon on the Mount out of which stands "the personality of a man that is altogether unique," in the freedom and authority of his teaching—in all these our author perceives with sympathy and insight the never-failing wonder of the Galilean Carpenter, an insight incomparably keener than the Americanization of Jesus by Bruce Barton which Trattner justly calls an interpretation of the faith of Jesus as one that moves not mountains, but merchandise.

We lay the book down gratefully. We cannot go all the way with the author, but we know it is along some such road that many—and not only those of the Jewish faith—must start if ever they are to understand why Christianity has dared to speak of Jesus in terms that to the Jew seems blasphemous.

HENRY T. HODGKIN

Solving the World Crisis

The Way to Recovery. By Sir George Paish. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

The Fight for Financial Supremacy. By Paul Einzig. Macmillan. $3.00.

Breaking Down the Tariff Walls. By Wilhelm Grotkopp. Benn, (London). 10s. 6d.

IT is a significant fact that men of authority in our economic system should be attacking it. These three books call attention to the error in the present world organization, and offer practical suggestions for a way out. The first two were written by Englishmen and the third by a German. The point of view of all, however, is harmonious.

Sir George Paish insists that the present crisis is the most serious the world has ever experienced, and that the way to recovery calls for new ideas of interdependence. This means a new mentality which must be accompanied by quick action. His book is full of quotable paragraphs. He devotes a chapter to each of nine countries, and several to the general financial situation arising out of the chaos following the World War. The writer is in close accord with Grotkopp in his discussion of international trade. The United States is a conspicuous example of a country which wants to export, but which raises tariffs so that other countries cannot sell their goods here to get money to buy American goods. This condition he considers peculiarly irrational. He finds that the people in all countries are more ready for new remedies than the statesmen. Nationalism is to blame, and nationalism is based on fear; consequently the danger of war must be eliminated as the first step to recovery.

Einzig, assuming the necessity of international trade, searches for the principles that can make its financing most effective. Before the war, London had unquestioned supremacy in this field. It had accumulated experience, an atmosphere of freedom without political interference, and a public accustomed to foreign investment, thus furnishing a reservoir of potential capital. Moreover, it had the gold standard. Einzig is convinced that these qualifica-

tions, which are found nowhere else in one place, will bring London back to the old place that she lost after the war. He makes a good deal of the solidity of England's gold basis. The fact that she went off the gold standard just after the book was written is very disturbing to his argument.

France is inexperienced, politically involved in banking, slow in making decisions, inconsiderate of debtors and not coöperative with other nations. Her position holds great possibilities, but it is doubtful whether she will utilize them.

New York, with many advantages, has entered into much of the heritage of London. But she is handicapped because domestic demands make good investments; accordingly in time of crisis, there is no money forthcoming for foreign financing.

The necessity of breaking down tariff walls comes, in part, from the fact that small-scale production as practiced by the nations of Europe cannot compete with the large-scale production which is cheaper and gives uniform products. There is little immediate hope of the necessary reduction because nationalism is now running riot.

Except for the positiveness with which Sir George Paish states his position, the book by Grotkopp is the most important of the three. The chief value of all these volumes, however, is that they indicate a trend of thinking.

HERBERT A. MILLER

Pan-Americanism

The Struggle for South America. By J. F. Normano. Houghton Mifflin and Company. $4.00.

The Capitalists and Colombia. By J. Fred Rippy. Vanguard Press. $2.00.

"NATURE in making us inhabitants of the same continent has united us in a common lot, in bonds of common patriotism." So wrote Maia to Thomas Jefferson. So argued many another, North and South. Strife between the Americas was unthinkable. Born of the same revolutionary passion, nourished by the same hope of freedom, the republics of the Americas would flourish in peace, resisting the base example of European jealousy and imperialistic ambition. This was the Pan-American dream.

The authors of the two books under consideration approach the dream from different angles, and give their accounts of the details of the awakening. Dr. Normano paints a broad canvas, with Europe and America in the struggle for cultural and economic dominance. Dr. Rippy confines his attention to the relations between Colombia and the United States, furnishing footnotes from this limited area which bear out the argument of Dr. Normano. The latter, a Brazilian economist, now connected with Harvard, knows both the Americas, their moods and ways. He also knows Europe, and his book brings the finest interpretation of the mood of the South American peoples, in their relations to Europe and to us, which has appeared in English.

The Struggle for South America is the race between the "seduced" and the "seducers"—the former being the South American republics and the latter these United States and certain peoples of Europe—France, Italy, Spain, England. The courted ones have been waylaid by a variety of persuaders. Some have come a-courting with flowers, some with dollars. The Latins have come chiefly with flowers—and who can resist flowers? French and Italian and Spaniard have filled their mouths with arguments: "We are brothers. We are of the same race (conveniently forgetting that great sections of South America are more Indian than Latin). We are of the same religion. Our culture is a common heritage." The French have offered the inducement of their cosmopolitanism, their freedom, their catholicity of culture. Some—notably Argentina—have yielded. Buenos Aires looks to Paris as its second home. Spain has had the better argument, and the worse. Better, for the language of Cervantes is a mighty tie. Worse, for Spain until recent months was still the land of monarchy, the monarchy against which South America fought. England has built railroads and has sent educated gentlemen; and South Americans like railroads and gentlemen.

The United States has also come a-courting. But not with flowers. The salesmen for American automobiles and bonds do not speak the language of Cervantes. They do not know about Racine and Voltaire. Not flowers, but dollars. The argument must be good, for the argument has won. Dr. Normano's tables of imports and exports tell how valiantly it has won. The conquest has been of the head, not of the heart. The lady, persuaded, remains obdurate. Argentina likes our tractors, not us. Argentina and the United States meet for the luncheon business conference, but at the dinner hour Argentina and France sit down together.

Against Dr. Normano's broader canvas, read Dr. Rippy's account of the relations between the United States and Colombia. Here we have one great republic of South America laid out for observation, for dissection. We see ourselves—our fruit companies, our oil companies, our state department, our bankers—in action. Here we have with a vengeance the "seduced" and the "seducer." Pan-Americanism? Here is the hope and the dream and the defeat. Imprial expansion? Here is Panama. "I took the Canal Zone," said Roosevelt. Economic penetration. Dr. Rippy tells the tale of bananas, oil, and loans. Diplomatic intervention and pressure? Here is the story of Colombian oil legislation, and of the not too gentle pressure from Washington.

Dr. Rippy's survey shows that between 1856 and 1903 our official attitude toward Colombia in general, and toward Panama in particular, was dominated by three motives: first, the protection of the lives and property of our nationals (both an actual and an ostensible reason); second, the determination to keep Europe out of the canal business; third, to close in upon the Panama canal route.

The taking of Panama is well told by Dr. Rippy. The confusion of motives; the joyous expansionist enthusiasm of the United States, fanned by the gains of the Spanish American war; Roosevelt's desire for re-election; the self-interest of the clique of Panama politicians who had been promised ten million dollars for the treasury of the new republic "when created"; the zeal of the French company to sell out for forty million; the bribing of the Colombian garrison in Panama; the sending of gun boats; the swift recognition of the new republic; the signing of the Canal treaty—here is the story which youthful agitators in South America know by heart. No matter how many presidents we may send on cruisers to South America, the fact of Panama sticks. "The friendship of nearly a century disappeared," reported our American Minister in Bogota, and even the consolation money later paid to Colombia did not restore that friendship.

Americans, North and South, once dreamed of peace and mutual regard. The dream is dead, save perhaps in the hearts of some few who believe that all things are possible, even the end of imperialism and of the brood of furies which proceed from it. But Panama sticks in the Latin American throat, and few there are south of the Rio Grande who credit the United States with any serious determination to deal peaceably and justly. HUBERT C. HERRING

Labor's Handbook

Labor Fact Book. Prepared by Labor Research Association. International Publishers. $2.00.

WHAT precisely is the material background of our economy? What is the extent of our natural resources? What is the extent of our foreign investment and where is it? What is the wealth distribution in the United States? At just what spots and how is United States imperialism operating in Latin-America? What is meant by finance capitalism and how does it operate in the United States? What about the plight of our workers as to wages, hours, speed-up, unemployment, child labor, woman labor? What is our farm mortgage indebtedness? To what extent is agriculture mechanized? What means do employers use to head off the rising insurgency of the workers? What peace proposals have been made by the Soviet Union?

These are but a few of the questions answered forthrightly in one of the most usable handbooks that has come from the press in many a day—*Labor Fact Book.* I predict that it will not be relegated to the shelf, but that it will be kept handy, once it comes to the attention of those who find facts the most useful of tools.

WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL

A Communist on War

War: Organized Destruction and Mass Murder by Civilized Nations. By Scott Nearing. Vanguard Press. $3.00.

SHERMAN said: "War is hell," and heterodox clergymen have been repeating the heresy ever since. The dictum is an undiscriminating compliment to war. Though it is not central in his discussion, Scott Nearing joins in the chorus of those who quote Sherman.

We take it that neither Sherman nor Nearing ever put forth any claims as a theologian, and would not therefore be expected to know that the doctrine of hell was the theological answer, crude and materialistic though it often was, to the demand for moral order in the universe. War, since it is the supreme expression of moral chaos, is the opposite of hell. Sherman's unwarranted calumny of hell should not be perpetuated.

The proletarian revolution which Comrade Nearing discusses in his closing chapter is much more nearly the equivalent of the theological hell than is war, in that it is the class-conscious worker's idea of putting moral order into the world. Both the proletarian revolution and the doctrine of hell have a good deal of "iron" in them, and both are accordingly devoid of appeal to all "sentimentalists."

Quite apart from the class-conscious philosophy which provides the framework for Nearing's conclusions, his account of war is detailed, accurate, and convincing. It is a treatise full of naked realism which would be good for the soul of any bourgeois pacifist who opposes war primarily on the ground that it is likely to interfere with his privileged position in the *status quo.*

Nearing identifies "civilization" with "capitalism," which may be somewhat arbitrary and sweeping, though it is in entire agreement with the thought-habits of most capitalists. "Since the war-making machine," he says, "is a part of the structure of every civilized society, and since the war-making function is a part of the activity of every civilized state, while civilization lasts there will be war—civil, colonial, imperial."

There is no doubt about the accuracy of the author's indictment of conferences on disarmament to date. "Each conference," he points out, "ends by discussing the kind of arms that will be used in the next military struggle." Thus in the forthcoming Conference at Geneva a considerable part of the agenda deals with the abolition of chemical warfare. These attempts to "humanize" war properly evoke ironical comment.

In discussing "The Structure of a Warless World," the author concludes that "nothing short of a socialized, planned world economy will eliminate these basic economic conflicts out of which recent wars have arisen, and provide the economic foundation upon which, alone, a warless world can be built." The number of those who will subscribe to this conclusion is, we earnestly hope, increasing in such a time as the present. If the reading of books will add to their number, we wish for Comrade Nearing's book a "best-seller" circulation.

J. B. MATTHEWS

An Industrialist on Unemployment

Distributed Leisure. By L. C. Walker. Century Co. $2.25.

SIGNIFICANCE attaches to this volume for three reasons: the author is a practical industrialist who is able to discuss business from the inside, he is a candid apologist for capitalism and as such never confuses his reader, and he recognizes that the true meaning of the so-called current depression has not as yet been comprehended by his industrial colleagues.

Mr. Walker insists upon naming the contemporary state of the technological and industrial arts "the Second Industrial Revolution." The "first" industrial revolution consisted of machines, elementary forms of power, factories, and congested manufacturing centers. The "second" comprises scientific management, easy money, the inventive age, mass production, and two new forms of power—namely electricity and the combustion engine. It is this second revolution which has enabled industry to procure more than can be normally consumed and is, hence, responsible for the present economic *impasse.*

Our author suggests a remedy which is simple indeed: he implores his fellow-industrialists to heed the hand-writing on the wall, "if we are to make a success of our capitalistic system," and to save themselves by a healthy tug at their own boot-straps. They must, he assumes, do two things and those quickly: distribute both employment and leisure. He argues on behalf of a shorter week, not a shorter working day. The shorter week, without reduction in wage rates, will produce the requisite amount of goods and will provide leisure in "packages" suitable for constructive and recreative uses. But, Mr. Walker, as an experienced business man knows that his proposal, simple as it may sound to the outsider, will not be readily adopted by American industrialists. He is preaching a philosophy, not of bold and adventurous change but rather of opportunism and concession. Enlightened as he appears to be with respect to certain aspects of modern industry, he still adheres to an economic conception which is based upon individualism, *laissez-faire,* profits, and competition. Critics of the present system will find it easy to agree with Mr. Walker's partial conclusions; they will not, however, concur in his premises which clearly imply that all the traditional foundations of capitalism are to be conserved by so simple a means.

The title of the volume, it should be added, is slightly misleading since the author's chief preoccupation is not with the problem of leisure but rather with that of production and employment. Those who foresee the necessity of a new statecraft directed toward

the planning of leisure will find no illumination in Mr. Walker's essay. Its chief merit lies in its candor, its synthetic utilization of a mass of important industrial facts, and its simplicity of style. Business men will find it easy reading and radicals will discover certain insights whch they, as outsiders, are likely to overlook.

E. C. LINDEMAN

The Religion of Bahai

Bahaism: Its Origin, History, and Teaching. By William McElwee Miller. Fleming Revell. $2.00.

The Kitáb-i-Íqán. By Bahá'u'llah. Translated by Shogi Effendi. Bahá'i Publishing Committee. $2.50.

TROUBLED by the success of Bahai propaganda in the West, especially in America, Mr. Miller has written a book to tell us what Bahaism really is. A new history of this religious movement is needed, not only to bring the story up to date, but because the Bahaists themselves are inclined to ignore the early phase of the movement, and the trustworthy books which do describe it are out of print or in foreign languages. Unfortunately, Mr. Miller, who is well qualified to write the book we need, prefers to write polemics. But the author's sources are good and apart from the Christian bias, the work is an excellent rendering of the emergence of Babism out of the background of Shiite Islam in Persia, the struggle for leadership after the martyrdom of the Bab, the violent usurpation of authority by Baha'u'llah, the renewed struggle for control after his death, the adaptation of the message of Bahaism to the ideals of the Western World by Abdul Baha, and finally an evaluation of the movement under its modern leader, Shogi Effendi.

It is clear that this new religion was attuned to the social-political setting of its age and that it changed constantly in organization and ideals as new situations appeared. Thus American Bahaism is quite different from the Persian and Syrian types, though all forms claim to draw their truth and way of life from a common revelation. The author does not approve this inconsistency and would have American Bahaists conform to the "Most Holy Book" if they are to claim the name. But that is like expecting all American Christians to believe their creeds implicitly. The Modernists do not believe them; yet they insist on being called Christians. Why should American Bahaists be denied a liberalism permitted to American Christians? Moreover, the record of blood against this religion preaching love and peace is not an utterly damning accusation unless the author is willing to have the same yardstick applied to the history of Christianity. Christians should be careful about stone throwing.

Something has happened to the intellectual climate of America to ruin our taste for religious polemics. It may be the new scientific spirit, or the new history, or the soothing drug of Modernism. Whatever it is, we feel a little ashamed and humiliated when missionaries of our own faith attempt to expose another religion. It is a bad habit that belongs to an outgrown age. Miss Mayo by selection of facts condemns Hinduism. The American Association for the Advancement of Atheism selects material from the Bible to ridicule religion. The Deva Samaj chooses facts of Christian history to disprove God. Ahmadiya Islam, using New Testament data, belittles Jesus and condemns Christianity. The process is always easy but it is cheap, undignified, and unscientific. The old zest has gone from this warfare. We are becoming intellectually and religiously mature and prefer to understand rather than to condemn. In spite of its polemics, however, Mr. Miller's book deserves a wide reading, and it is to be hoped that Dr. Speer's super-christian tone of superiority in the introduction will not frighten off the intelligent layman.

The Kitáb-i-Íqán or "the Book of Certitude," translated by the new leader of Bahaism, was written by Baha'u'llah when he was still loyal to the Bab and before he had broken with Subh-i-Azal, the Bab's appointed successor. In this book he exalts the Bab as the divine manifestation for the new age and defends the holy Bayān as revelation. In a little while he was to repudiate it and set up a revelation of his own. It is curious that Shogi Effendi should select this work, the theme of which is well known in the West, instead of the Kitab-i-Aqdas which has not yet been translated into English. Has the Most Holy Book nothing to say to the English-speaking world?

A. EUSTACE HAYDON

WE RECOMMEND

The Prohibition Experiment in Finland. By John H. Wuorinen. Columbia University Press. $3.50. An impartial survey of prohibition as it was tried in Finland, particularly valuable because the Finnish experiment is so frequently used by both wets and drys to point their arguments.

The Universe: From Crystal Spheres to Relativity. By Frank Allen. Harcourt Brace and Co. $2.00. A popular presentation in brief outline of the story of natural science from the earliest Greeks to Einstein and the moderns.

Religious Realism. Edited by Douglas Clyde Macintosh. Macmillan Co., $3.00. A collection of thoughtful essays by America's leading theologians of the realistic persuasion. Montague, Coe, Wieman, Horton, Lyman, and others have contributed chapters. As a symposium, the book ranks superior to most of its kind.

Economics in the Twentieth Century. By Theo Suranyi-Unger. Norton. $5.00. An almost incredibly erudite summary of what has been written in English, German, French, and Italian since 1900 on economic methodology, system-making, and the central concerns of theory-value, price and distribution. Evidently a book not intended for the layman.

Outline of Modern Knowledge. Edited by William Rose. Putnam. $5.00. Another symposium but a very able one to which some of Britain's most learned men have contributed. The outline embraces the physical sciences, philosophy, the social sciences, art and literature. Among the particularly rewarding chapters are those by G. D. H. Cole on economic and political organization, a review of modern philosophy by A. Wolf, an introduction to social anthropology by R. R. Marett, a chapter on literary criticism by Lascelles Abercrombie, and a review of modern theories and forms of international organization by Delisle Burns. It is unfair, however, to single out individual chapters, for the entire volume will prove worth while even to students of modern thought who cover their fields in a more thorough manner than is possible in an outline.

Emmaus: A Book of Poems. By Raymond Kresensky. Torch Press (Cedar Rapids, Iowa). A collection, mostly of short lyrics, reflecting a high spiritual note, human sympathy, and social insight, as well as genuine poetic merit.

Can These Things Be! By George Seldes. Brewer, Warren and Putnam. $4.00. The story of the corruption of the press by governments and business interests written, with engaging candor, by a veteran newspaper man. The account of how the Fascist regime in Italy has undermined the newspapers and press associations is a particularly valuable revelation. The book is as interesting as the author's previous volume *You Can't Print That.*

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History of Russia. By M. N. Pokrovsky. International Publishers. $2.50. A Marxist interpretation of Russian history from its primitive origins through the era of Peter the Great. Its emphasis on the economic aspects of Russian life, while by no means new, is much preferable to the lurid and pathological story of the various czars. It is to be hoped that the translators will complete their task and bring the story down to the revolution.

CORRESPONDENCE

Tragic Result of Jim Crow Discrimination

ON Friday, November 6th, Miss Juliette Derricotte, Dean of Women at Fisk University, and three Fisk students left Nashville by automobile to spend the week-end at their home in Athens, Georgia. Shortly after the party had passed through the town of Dalton, Georgia, in the late afternoon, a collision with another automobile resulted in the overturning of Miss Derricotte's car and fatal injuries to her and one of the students.

Many of the details of the accident and subsequent treatment are matters of controversy, but the fact that the injured were not taken to the well-equipped hospital at Dalton is not denied by anyone. A number of interested parties are making investigations about the tragedy, but even if their conclusions should finally be that all possible consideration was given the injured within the limits of Jim-crowism, the stark and brutal fact that race closed the door to the best medical facilities of this Southern town stands uncontroverted to hurl its terrible indictment at a system of discrimination which subjects millions of our citizens to daily deprivations that flout our every claim to an advanced civilization.

That individual doctors were personally kind and did all in their power to alleviate the suffering of the injured may be readily admitted; but after they had performed their service, it was necessary to take the victims of the accident by ambulance to the distant city of Chattanooga, Tennessee, late at night in order to gain admission to a hospital. One of the students, Miss Johnson, succumbed on this trip to Chattanooga—a journey that would never have been undertaken had the individuals been members of the white race of any class or creed.

Miss Derricotte was born in Athens, Georgia, April 1, 1897. She was graduated from Talledega College in 1918 and became a national student secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association. During the eleven years of her service, she visited every Negro college and many white colleges in the Association. She was known and greatly loved by students in every part of this country as well as abroad.

She was a member of the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In 1924 she represented the Student Movement of the United States at the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation at High Leigh, England, and in 1928 she was again a delegate to the General Committee in Mysore, India.

The distinguished character of one of the victims of this tragedy only serves to remind us once more of the nature of our social institutions which are built upon principles of an unreasoning and heartless race discrimination.

New York City J. B. MATTHEWS

Caribbean Conference

FROM March 20th to 27th there will be conducted in San José, Costa Rica, a conference of representatives of North, South, and Central Americas. The sponsors from the United States are Carleton Beals, Raymond Leslie Buell, Waldo Frank, John Nevin Sayre, Wm. R. Shepherd, and Norman Thomas. Further details may be obtained from John Nevin Sayre, 383 Bible House, New York City, or Professor Joaquin Garcia Monge, San José, Costa Rica.

Caribbean Seminar

THE Seminar in the Caribbean was launched last winter by the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America as an experiment in bringing our leaders into something more than casual touch with the leaders of the Caribbean republics. The experiment met with so enthusiastic and appreciative a response both here and in the Caribbean that we feel justified in repeating it this winter. We are therefore announcing the Second Seminar for the dates January 23-February 10 (inclusive, from New York).

We plan programs in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Santo Domingo, Panama, Haiti, and Cuba. The Seminar offers a stimulating introduction to the life and problems of the Caribbean area, combined with an opportunity for rest and recreation. The faculty will include Lincoln Steffens, Chester Lloyd Jones, Ernest Gruening, Thomas F. Benner, Leland H. Jenks, Samuel Guy Inman, and Charles Thomson.

Anyone interested in applying for membership in the Seminar should write me, in care of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 19th Street, New York.

New York City HUBERT C. HERRING

JUST READY

GANDHI: THE DAWN OF INDIAN FREEDOM

By Jack C. Winslow and Verrier Elwin

Kirby Page Says:

"Few Britishers are so well qualified to interpret the significance of Mahatma Gandhi as are the authors of this volume. Through long residence in India they have to a unique degree entered into the inner life of the masses and are able sympathetically to interpret India's non-violent struggle for freedom. Here is an invigorating volume for all persons who are concerned about the future of Christianity in the Orient." $1.50

NEW LIFE THROUGH GOD

By Toyohiko Kagawa

Translated by Elizabeth H. Kilburn. Edited, and with an Introduction by Kenneth Saunders. This remarkable book by the Japanese teacher and evangelist gives us a fine, penetrative study of the all-supplying, all-embracing stream of spiritual life which emanates from God. $1.50

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY

158 Fifth Avenue New York

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Sherwood Eddy Seminar

DURING the summer of 1932, for the twelfth consecutive year, a group of educators, ministers, editors, and men in public life will make a first-hand study of the situation in Europe as members of the American Seminar. This group will meet intimately many of the outstanding political, economic, educational, and religious leaders in London, Berlin, Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Vienna, Rome, Geneva, and Paris. The party will sail from New York June 22, on the S. S. *Mauretania.* Lectures and discussions will be held on the ship for preparation and background.

After visiting London and Berlin, the party will divide, one group going to Prague, Vienna and Italy, while the other enters Russia. The parties will reunite for a week in Geneva, August 14 to 19, to make a critical study of the League of Nations in coöperation with the Geneva Institute of International Relations. After a program in Paris, beginning August 21, most of the group will sail from Cherbourg, August 27.

Throughout the summer lectures are followed by discussion periods for questioning the speakers. Ordinarily the mornings are devoted to lectures and discussions while the afternoons are left free. Optional sightseeing trips under picked guides will be provided in the principal cities at modest fees. This will be a summer of serious study with the significant leaders of Europe and only persons who will sustain such a purpose and use their experience widely to promote international understanding will be accepted.

It is estimated that the total cost of the tour will be from $700 to $900, depending upon the time spent, countries visited, and economy observed. Particulars as to cost and services will be furnished to those eligible to membership. Applications should be made at once to the committee. Address all communications to Sherwood Eddy, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. Mr. Eddy will accompany the party.

Peace Prize Competition

THE New History Society of New York announces a prize competition on world peace open to students in colleges and universities of the United States. Prizes of $300, $200, and $100 will be awarded for the three best essays on the subject, "How Can the Colleges Promote World Peace?" The judges of the contest will be Professor John Dewey of Columbia University; Devere Allen, associate editor of *The Nation;* William Floyd, editor of *Arbitrator;* Tucker P. Smith, secretary of the Committee on Militarism in Education; Kirby Page, editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW; and James G. MacDonald, chairman of the Foreign Policy Association. The papers, original manuscripts containing not more than 1,200 words, must be submitted not later than April 5, 1932. Announcements of the prize winners will be made May 23, 1932. Further details regarding the contest may be obtained from the New History Society, 132 East 65th Street, New York City.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

A Chinese Gentleman on Western Civilization

"Civilized? Far from it. You can't civilize these foreign devils. They are beyond redemption. They live weeks and months without touching a mouthful of rice. But they eat the flesh of bullocks and sheep in enormous quantities. . . . Nor do they eat meat cooked in small pieces. It is carried into the room in huge chunks and often half raw. They cut and slash and tear it apart, and they eat with knives and prongs. It makes a civilized man quite nervous. One fancies himself in the presence of sword swallowers. They even sit down with women, and the women are served first, reversing the order of nature."—*Submitted by No Yong Park, of Minneapolis.*

February: the Zero Month

If the Bruening Cabinet succeeds in keeping power beyond February, it will only be because in the meantime it has obtained concessions alike in the matter of reparations and private indebtedness from its creditors. If the present cabinet fails, the Hitlerites are bound to repudiate reparations, and Germany will be in a turmoil and incapable of paying debts. . . . The American people have sooner or later to write war debts off as bad debts, as a part of the loss of the war. Practically speaking, they have never been able to collect anything on account. They have merely lent money to Germany and taken it back from the Allies. Even then they have not recovered as much as they lent. True, they have in addition a vast amount of German notes and securities, but they have had to resign all present hope of collecting on these; and payment, if it comes at all, will come very slowly.—*Frank H. Simonds, in the Review of Reviews, December, 1931.*

Last Hired, First Fired

There is one inescapable conclusion to be drawn from this recital of facts and opinions: namely, that while unemployment is bad for all groups, it is worse for Negroes. There is preponderant testimony from the records of relief-giving agencies and employment bureaus that the Negro, North and South, is carrying a larger part of the volume of unemployment than his population warrants, his financial income can stand, and his physical strength can endure. In the large cities, he is over-running public sleeping quarters, taxing the resources of relief-giving agencies and embarrassing fair-minded administrators of employment funds who cannot break down the bulwarks of prejudice that keep Negroes outside of work planned to relieve human suffering. . . . Time and again have Negroes begged for work and scorned charity, but charity is what they are getting. We may expect them soon to scorn work and demand charity. The dole is rapidly becoming the accepted policy of relieving distress among Negroes and just as rapidly being accepted by them without protest. In such an extremity as they find themselves today they have no alternative. It is charity or starvation.—*Report of the National Urban League, December 14, 1931.*

Children Cry For It

Parents should realize the danger which an inadequate Navy will have for their children, for a Navy cannot be improvised. It must be built and trained; otherwise money spent is gross extravagance, means waste, and more than this gives a false sense of security to the nation.—*Editorial, Army and Navy Journal, October 24, 1931.*

Simply Incredible!

We have statesmen and diplomats to attend to the settlement of international differences, and such matters are outside the province of the church. If we go whole-heartedly about our mission of perpetuating the message of Christ, we will have time for nothing else.—*Former United States Senator George Wharton Pepper before the National Federation of Church Clubs, Philadelphia.*

1914 and Now

It is with feelings of horror that I find in myself, and see in others, a rising resentment against France. Satan will never cast out Satan, and we shall never learn to love one nation better by hating another nation more; yet that is what we nearly always do. Let us remember now—when it is so difficult—what France has suffered in the past, and remember that to hate is to move in that vicious circle which always from vengeance goes on again to vengeance, which never really desires justice but is always anxious for revenge.—*Maude Royden, in the Guildhouse Monthly, October, 1931.*

Why This Menacing Extravagance?

In 1913 the United States had a fleet of 963,000 tons, Great Britain had a fleet of 2,222,000 tons, and France a fleet of 689,000 tons. Today the United States has 1,173,000 tons, Great Britain has 1,378,000 tons, and France has 618,000 tons. In terms of annual cost for naval armament the United States is spending today $382,000,000, whereas in 1913 we spent $133,000,000; Great Britain is spending $271,000,000, as against $247,000,000 in 1913; while France is spending $100,000,000, as against $90,000,000 in 1913. In other words, the United States is today spending 187 per cent more than she spent in 1913, Great Britain 10 per cent more, and France 11 per cent more. If army and air defense costs are added to navy costs, the United States is this year spending $842,000,000, Great Britain is spending $560,000,000, and France $431,000,000. In 1914 the officers and men of our regular forces, both Army and Navy, were about 164,000; in 1924 they were about 256,000; today they are roughly 250,000. Our citizens' army, including the National Guard and other forms of reserves, increases these totals to about 299,000 in 1914, 672,000 in 1924, and approximately 728,000 today.—*Raymond B. Fosdick, in The Atlantic Monthly, August,* 1931.